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SPEECHES
BY
THE EARL OF WILLINGDON

VOL. I

From 18th April 1931 to 22nd March 1934



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SPEECHES BY THE EARL OF WILLINGDON.

1931

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF BOMBAY.

The Right Honourable the Earl and the Countess of Willingdon arrived at Bombay on the 18th April 1931 and were presented with an Address of Welcome from the Bombay Municipality, to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

18th April
1931.

Mr. President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

May I at once thank you very gratefully for the most generous and encouraging expressions contained in your address in welcoming two old friends back again to your city on their return to India which has in very truth become to them their second home within the British Empire. We are deeply grateful to you, gentlemen, for your cordial greeting, and are delighted to see around us so many old friends in this distinguished gathering which has assembled here to meet us today.

As I walked up the steps just now leading up to this fine building rightly called the Gateway of India, and in the erection of which I am proud to feel that, in years gone by, the then Government of Bombay and I had some part, I had forcibly recalled to my mind a very similar occasion in the month of April eighteen years ago when I arrived for the first time in India to take over the duties of Governor of the Presidency of Bombay and commenced an intimate association with the people of your city and this Presidency which lasted for six happy and eventful years and included the four years of the Great War. I still vividly remember all our

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

activities during those years, years of strain and anxiety not only to India but to the whole British Empire, years during which this city became the base of all the military activities of India, years when in our efforts to do our full part to secure victory for our arms I received the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Princes and people in the Presidency, working for one great common purpose to achieve one great common aim, safety for our Empire, peace for the civilized world. May I read you a few lines of my reply to the farewell address from the Bombay Municipality when I gave up my duties as Governor of the Presidency, which will better express to you my feelings at that time. I said then "the times we have lived in have brought with them burdens and responsibilities heavier and more anxious than any of our predecessors have borne, heavier and more anxious, I trust, than any generation that succeeds us will ever be called upon to face ; through all that time I have been constantly supported by the generous help, the loyalty and the friendship of the citizens of every part of the Presidency, of every creed and race and every rank of society, and more particularly by the citizens of this city of Bombay." Today I return to you and you tell me in your address that 'few Viceroys have been called upon to preside over the Government of India at a more critical period of her history'. With the recollection of those former years still fresh in my mind I would only say that we have successfully surmounted together anxious and critical times in the past, and on the threshold of my service amongst you as Viceroy of India, I feel sure I may ask with all confidence for that same co-operation, that same loyalty and friendship from the Princes and people of India to help me to overcome all the difficulties that lie before us, to lead our great country on in a spirit of mutual good-will, freedom, fairplay and obedience to the laws of the land so that she may move forward rapidly

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

towards her goal of responsible Government, to a position of absolutely equal partnership with the other Dominions under the Crown.

In a word I shall endeavour to carry on the great work which has been done during the past five years by Lord Irwin, whose sympathy, patience, courage and earnestness of purpose have secured for him the abiding affection, regard and admiration of all classes of the people of this country.

In turning to the various matters you have referred to in your address, which more particularly affect the future of your city I am sure you will not expect my remarks to be more than very general in their character. I congratulate you warmly on the great developments which you have carried out for the benefit of your citizens, since I was last amongst you, and I look forward to seeing for myself at an early date some of the improvements which you have achieved. I feel confident that your wise and far-seeing efforts to make your city worthy of the special position which it holds as the Gateway of India will be amply rewarded when the heavy load of world-wide economic depression has passed away, and a renewal of confidence and prosperity returns, as it surely will, not apply to your city and this country, but to the whole of the civilized world.

I note with satisfaction that in spite of bad times, the Corporation are willing to shoulder additional taxation, the form of which I understand to be a matter at present under discussion. I can only say that if the proposed taxation takes a form that will ultimately require the sanction of the Government of India, I will not fail to take into account the point of view which has been so clearly put forward by you in your address.

As regards the financial relationship between Provincial Governments and Local Bodies, it is clear that

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

the whole question is one which must be thoroughly considered in connection with the new Constitution. I would merely observe that I realize that if local self-government is to be successful, it should be given the means to raise the revenue necessary for the discharge of its obligations.

With all your problems, however, I hope to make myself further acquainted after consultation with your Governor, His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, to whom Bombay and her people are so much indebted for his wise guidance and unfailing sympathy, and very earnestly do I hope that as a result of the rest which he is being ordered to take by his medical advisers, Sir Frederick will soon return to Bombay completely restored in health and strength.

May I in conclusion particularly thank you, gentlemen, for the special greeting you have extended to my wife. I assure you that she and I deeply appreciate the warm-hearted kindness with which you have welcomed us back amongst you this morning. Bombay city, our first home in India, will always have a very warm place in both our hearts and we echo your prayer that, under the guiding hand of a great Providence, the blessings of peace, progress and increasing prosperity may be the happy lot of your city and its people in the coming years.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE.

18th April
1931.

In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at Bombay His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. President and Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

It is a very real pleasure to Lady Willingdon and myself to receive this cordial welcome from you gentlemen

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

who hold such an important position in the affairs of this great city and to thank you for your congratulations on my appointment to the responsible post of Viceroy of India by our beloved Sovereign, the King Emperor.

I am delighted too to feel that you greet me today not as a stranger but as an old friend, and that you still have the keenest recollection of the unflagging energy, enthusiasm and organizing ability of my wife. Let me assure you that she still possesses these qualities just as fully developed as when last she lived in your midst in Bombay.

It is, therefore, with a very full heart that we find ourselves once more in a land which holds for us such unforgettable associations and memories, so many tried and trusted friends, and you can well imagine our feelings when we beheld once more this morning, in all their old beauty, the harbour and city of Bombay. It is good indeed to be back amongst you, and I thank you, gentlemen, most gratefully for the kind terms in which you have bidden us welcome.

Believe me, I am fully alive to the great responsibilities which will rest upon me at this juncture. For the last few years and the years immediately before us will, I venture to think, take their place in Indian history as among the most momentous that this country has ever known, and the task of those whose duty it will be to guide and further the great constructive work that lies ahead is indeed one which will demand steady heads and stout hearts, a full measure of faith and of courage in us all. Above all things, for the successful completion of that work, there will be need of mutual understanding and good-will, and my most earnest prayer as I set foot in India is for that harmony of spirit between countries and races, creeds and communities, on which alone a strong, peaceful and united India can securely rest.

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

To attain this great purpose, much has been accomplished in recent months. The Conference in London gave fresh reality and vigour to those old ties of mutual friendship and confidence which have so long bound our two countries together. More recent events have so turned out, to the deep gratification of all who love India, that we can confidently hope that in the further stages of constitutional reconstruction all parties and interests will jointly play their part. There are none, I know, who will not agree with me when I say that for the creation of this happier spirit India owes an immense debt to His Excellency Lord Irwin, from whom I shall shortly take over the duties of my high office. Today when he passes through the Gateway of India, this country will indeed have bidden farewell to one who, I would venture to say, has secured the admiration and affection of every class and of every community. He will not be forgotten, nor will he forget, and we may be certain that, wherever he may be, he will always be ready to give of his best in the cause of India which he has served for the last five years with such great distinction, zeal and devotion.

You have mentioned certain matters with which you, as representatives of great commercial interests, are more particularly and intimately concerned. You would not, I am sure, expect me to deal with them in any detail before I have had full time for study, but I assure you that I will give close attention to these or any other such matters which you may at any time wish to bring before me.

I was much interested to hear your encouraging opinions as to the results of the Round Table Conference held recently in London, which has laid down the framework for a new constitution for the whole of India, and to learn that I can rely on you to encourage the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people to govern their own

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

country. It is true too that you have expressed some anxieties that are in your minds with regard to the future of British Commerce in India. Let me say at once that in the matter of trade and commerce as in all other matters I stand for the principle of fairplay and equal opportunity and may I remind you that the Round Table Conference in full Committee accepted the principle that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian born subjects. The best means of arranging for its application is a matter for further discussion : but the principle itself is beyond question. I cannot conceive that anyone who takes an enlightened view of the best interests of the country will think otherwise, and I trust that a fuller understanding of what is involved will clear away all doubts and hesitations.

While I entirely share your regret that it should have been found necessary to place greater burdens of taxation upon commerce and industry at a very difficult period, I recognise, as I am sure you also recognise, that it was vitally important that India should produce before the world a balanced budget at the present juncture. So far as her financial difficulties are due to local and domestic reasons, we may now hope that these reasons are in course of removal ; but I am afraid that any really substantial revival must await an improvement in the general conditions of trade and commerce throughout the world. You may rest assured, however, that the burden of taxation will be lightened as soon as legitimate means of lightening it can be devised, and that I shall give my earnest attention to the important question of reduction of Government expenditure wherever possible.

The development of civil aviation is a subject in which I take a keen and active interest, particularly as

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

I have, for the past four years lived in the Dominion of Canada where there is an active public interest being taken in the question of linking up all parts of that country through a co-operative system of aerial communication. I do not propose to refer to the various points you have raised in this connection but assure you that they shall receive my active personal attention with a view to the promotion of this most necessary form of transport in the best interests of the country as a whole.

As regards your remarks on the subject of the action of the Government of Bombay in applying for the appropriation of their share of the petrol tax for ordinary road maintenance and repairs, the position, as I understand it, is that the Government of Bombay have applied to the Government of India for permission to do this for one year as a purely temporary expedient to meet the severe and peculiar financial difficulties which have come upon them this year. I am informed that the matter is still under discussion and that no decision has been taken, but that there is no intention whatever on the part of the Government of Bombay to ask for a permanent diversion of this fund from the construction of new roads to the maintenance of the present road system.

Before I conclude, I would like to thank you for your kind reference to Lady Willingdon. She comes to India with a memory no less keen than mine of happy years in Bombay and Madras and with a resolve, no less fixed than mine, to do, under Providence, all that lies in her power for the good of India and her people, and to carry on the great work done by Her Excellency Lady Irwin in the many fields of her activities.

For myself, I would only say that I fervently trust that, when the time comes for me to lay down the office which I am about to assume, the ship of State, which it will have been my privilege to guide, will have emerged

Address of Welcome from the Muslim Committee of Bombay.

from the rough waters, which, as history shows, can seldom be avoided at a time of constitutional development, and will be sailing upon smoother seas. To attain this end, based as it must be on the happiness and well-being of the people of India, in contented partnership with the people of England, I shall count no efforts too great and no work too arduous. I am confident that I can rely on your help and co-operation in this task, and am encouraged and strengthened by the warmth of the welcome which you have extended to us today.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUSLIM
COMMITTEE OF BOMBAY.

In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Muslim Committee of Bombay His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

18th April
1931.

Let me thank you, Mr. President and Members of the representative Muslim Committee of Bombay, for your cordial welcome to myself on my return after a few years' absence to your country to take up the responsible position of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and let me particularly express my gratitude to you today for welcoming my wife and myself amongst you as old and honoured friends, and assure you of our pleasure and delight at the chance of living and working amongst you once again. We are very grateful, too, that you should have remembered such humble services as we may have rendered here to our fellow citizens in the past, and rejoice that we shall have further and wider opportunities of working for their welfare in the future.

You have spoken, Mr. President, of the concern felt by the Muslims and other minority communities in the matter of the safeguarding of their rights and interests

Address of Welcome from the Muslim Committee of Bombay.

under the new constitution that is now in process of formation. The exact nature of such safeguards is a matter on which it is clearly not possible for me at this juncture to say a word, but I can make this observation that any constitution, whatever its form, that may be designed for the future government of India, will depend for its successful working more upon the contentment of each of the many communities that go to make up the vast population of this country than upon any other single factor that I can think of. And it is, therefore, essential to the harmony of the whole design that no single part of it, whether the Muhammadan community or any other, should feel that their due rights are in danger or inadequately guarded for the future. You have rightly made it clear that safeguards for communities will be justified not by the extent to which they perpetuate diversities but by the extent to which they serve to promote unity.

Gentlemen, you will appreciate that the time ever of a Viceroy designate is not entirely his own and I must ask you to forgive me if reply to your address is brief. I have indeed been forced by the pressure of other engagements to forego the pleasure of receiving other addresses which certain bodies in this hospitable city had been kind enough to propose. I shall hope, however, to meet many of its leading citizens at the Willingdon Sports Club this afternoon, and I can assure you that both Lady Willingdon and I look forward keenly to the time when we shall be able to revisit at greater leisure the city among whose people we spent six very happy years.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your great kindness this morning, and I would assure you once more of the deep and abiding interest I shall always take in everything that concerns the welfare of the Muslim community in India.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE DEHRA DUN
MUNICIPALITY.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Dehra Dun Municipality and in reply said :—

21st April
1931.

Mr. Chairman,—I am indeed grateful to you and the Members of the Municipal Board of Dehra Dun for the cordial greeting which you have extended to Lady Willingdon and myself this morning. It is true, as you say, that in spite of our having lived eleven years in India, this is the first time that we have visited your district, and if the beautiful situation, the climatic advantages, the health recuperative powers are such as you claim them to be, I can only add that we have been very remiss in not coming to visit you before. However I trust that the next ten days which I intend to spend amongst you will serve as a real tonic to keep me fit and well for the great work that lies ahead of me.

I hope, during the next few days, to have the opportunity of seeing something of the many institutions which you, Mr. Chairman, have mentioned in your Address. Dehra Dun is now the centre of most important research and technical work of different kinds, and I am confident that you, on your part, will always endeavour to make your charge worthy of the natural advantages it enjoys. I feel that I owe a debt of gratitude to the Government of the United Provinces for their courtesy in placing the delightful residence of Dun Court at my disposal. I had the pleasure of travelling out from England to Bombay with your Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who I am glad to think is well enough to resume once more the responsibilities of his office which have been so ably carried out during his absence by Sir George Lambert.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the good wishes which you have extended to me upon my assumption of the Viceroyalty. It is indeed a source of great satisfaction to me to know that I may count on your co-operation

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

and goodwill during my term of office. I thank you also once again for the cordiality of your welcome to my wife and myself today and in conclusion may I express the hope that in the years to come peace and prosperity will be enjoyed by the people of Dehra Dun.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SIMLA
MUNICIPALITY.

15th May
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon and Staff arrived at Simla on the 1st May 1931 and were accorded a public reception. On the 15th idem the Simla Municipality presented an Address at Viceregal Lodge to which the Viceroy replied as follows :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I should like, in the first place, to thank you most warmly, on Lady Willingdon's behalf as well as my own, for the very kind terms in which you have today bidden us welcome to this summer capital, which during so large a part of our time in India will be our home. I have, as you have said, had no small experience of hill stations in other parts of this country, but I am not going to be so rash as to embark on the dangerous task of drawing comparisons. I can truly say this, however, that, if any hill station can surpass Simla in the greatness of its conception and the beauty of its surroundings, it must be a very remarkable and a very lovely town.

I can well sympathise therefore with the desire you have expressed to make Simla, in its public buildings and in its care for the welfare of its people, worthy of the great position it holds. I can imagine no object more deserving of support than your schemes for the increase of hospital accommodation and the improvement of the conditions of life of the poorer of your citizens, and I earnestly hope that all your dreams, in which I may

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

perhaps include Lord Curzon's earthquake, may come true. The present moment, as you know, is a time of no small difficulty for those responsible for the finances either of the Central or Provincial Governments, and I fear that at present I hardly feel in a position to do more than to assure you that your requests for financial assistance in the praiseworthy schemes which you have set before yourselves will have my warmest sympathy, and I shall not fail to convey them to the quarters immediately concerned. I greatly hope that, during my time in India, you will find it possible to bring to completion the programme which you have set before yourselves.

You have in the course of your address mentioned the constitutional changes impending around us. Simla can surely look forward with complacency to any future changes which the march of progress may bring in its train. As regards financial stability the Committee is fortunate in possessing as the principal municipal rate-payers a clientèle connected with the Central and a Provincial Government. Local Self-Government is a Provincial transferred subject in charge of a Minister, and from this aspect of the situation Simla seems in another way also to be advantageously placed as compared with most Punjab towns. For, in the nature of the case, the Committee works in close proximity to the Ministry for a number of months every year and has an opportunity of enlisting the direct interest of the Ministry in its projects and achievements. In these circumstances, with a long record of successful civil administration behind it, the Committee can clearly hope fully to share in future developments and improvements.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I wish to thank you for good wishes you have extended to me in the high responsibilities which have been entrusted to me. It will be

*Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the
St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross
Society at Simla.*

my constant endeavour to lend what help I may towards the task of achieving for India her due place as an honoured member of the British commonwealth of nations. It is no small encouragement to me at the outset of my term of office to know that in this great task I have the sympathy and goodwill of important public bodies such as yours.

COMBINED ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS
SOCIETY AT SIMLA.

24th June
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Combined Annual General Meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society held at Simla and delivered the following speech :—

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that you will all agree with me when I say that I listened with very great interest to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's report on the work of the St. John Ambulance Association during the past year, and also to General Megaw's statement about the work of the Brigade Overseas. The record of the Association is one of which it may well be proud, for though the figures of classes held and certificates issued, which are to be found in the report, are very satisfactory and encouraging, they give but a little idea of the tremendous amount going on behind the scenes for which no figures are available, but which represents the cheerful contributions of a band of workers who give so freely of their time and energy to a cause which we, who are present here today, have so much at heart.

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During the past four years whilst I was Governor-General of Canada, I had the honour of being the Patron of the Canadian Branch of the Association, and comparing the figures of their past report with those that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief presented to me today, I find that Canada and India are engaged in a neck and neck race for whereas fewer Canadians attended classes, the percentage passing the examination was higher. Now whereas last year, I should have been pleased with such a comparison, this year I certainly am not, and I hope that by the time that we meet again next year, I shall be in a position to send our report over to some of my Canadian friends and point out that we have got our nose in front, and that we mean to keep it there.

The work of the Association in India, outside the big cities, is undoubtedly handicapped by a shortage of qualified lecturers, but I understand that suitable members may now, under certain conditions, be appointed lay lecturers. I hope very much that, in future, more members will persevere with this end in view, more specially if their work lies in rural areas.

I have been especially pleased to note in the Branch reports that many Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have received training in first aid through the medium of the Association, and I feel sure that there is further scope for development along these lines.

From General Megaw's statement about the work of the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, it is evident that the Brigade Divisions, Ambulance and Nursing, are doing really useful work in many directions. I particularly wish to congratulate the Parsi Division in Bombay on having attained its Diamond Jubilee, and I hope that it may speedily collect sufficient funds to complete its

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Headquarters building, towards which Dr. Dhanjibhai Mehta, who has attained such splendid results from his Health lectures in Bombay Presidency, has so generously contributed Rs. 20,000.

I am delighted to hear of the formation of two Indian nursing divisions, and I hope that the example thus set by Lahore and Calcutta will be copied by many other cities in India.

I cannot conclude my remarks without extending to you my deep sympathy on the loss which you suffered last year by the death of your Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Litster, who, for so many years, devoted himself so generously and untiringly to the work of the Association.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like for a moment to turn your attention to the Indian Red Cross Society, a child of only ten years of age, who, however, has developed into a remarkably healthy child, fit, even at its early time of life, to take its place alongside its elder brothers and sisters, the National Red Cross Societies of the world. The confidence reposed in it is reflected in two outstanding events recorded in the report now before you, namely :--The amalgamation of the Lady Chelmsford Maternity and Child Welfare League with the Red Cross, and also the handing over to the Red Cross by my predecessor, Lord Irwin, of the Thanksgiving Fund, collected to commemorate the recovery from serious illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, to be devoted to an educational campaign against tuberculosis. The alarming spread of tuberculosis is viewed with apprehension by medical authorities in India, but I have the highest hopes that the campaign which is being made possible by the Thanksgiving Fund will do much to improve the situation. Whereas your Chairman in his report has covered most of the activities

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carried on at the Headquarters, I should like particularly to bring to your notice the satisfactory state of our many branches. From the table of membership at the beginning of the report, I see that the Punjab and Burma have enrolled most members during the year, and I congratulate these Provinces on their lively interest in the Red Cross work. The Punjab again leads the way in Junior membership also, but it no longer has the monopoly, for the United Provinces and others are introducing Junior Red Cross work into their schools. I was also particularly interested to read of the opening of a Red Cross Health Museum in Patna by Lady Stephenson, to whose constant and practical help the Bihar and Orissa Society owes a great deal.

I am very glad to note that some Indian States have flourishing Red Cross Branches, but there are many gaps in the list, and I hope very much that in the not too distant future every Indian State will see its way to taking a practical part in the work of the Society.

In conclusion, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I say that this is the first occasion on which I have presided at the joint Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society. I congratulate them once again upon the splendid work that they are doing, and I would particularly like to add that I am delighted to note the spirit of co-operation which seems to be present in their various activities, for surely these two associations working towards the same end should co-operate in the closest manner possible. I hope and believe that when we meet again next year to listen once more to the annual reports, we shall feel an ever-growing pride in the efforts of those who are doing such splendid service for these two Sister Societies, whose aims and objects refute controversy and criticism but compel admiration and support.

CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER.

27th June
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Chelmsford Club dinner at Simla on the 27th June 1931 :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me thank you at once most gratefully for the cordial manner in which you have received the toast of the health of my wife and myself, and let me thank you too, Sir, for the charming and most graceful remarks you have made in commending this toast for the acceptance of this distinguished gathering. And I wish further to thank you particularly for the invitation to this dinner tonight, and for allowing me this opportunity of giving my first impressions of the situation since my arrival in India. There are some who may think that I am here tonight to deliver myself of a political pronouncement ; if so, they are doomed to disappointment, for I think you will agree that any Viceroy, however long his experience may have been of India in the past, would be rash indeed if he made any political pronouncement after a short two months' life in his new duties. No, Sir, my purpose tonight is, as I say, to give my impressions of the situation—the impressions of one who I think is almost qualified to call himself an old “ Koi hai ” on his return to India after seven years' absence in other parts of the British Empire.

And my first impression must be of course that brilliant ceremonial at Bombay when the new Viceroy lands at the Apollo Bunder and meets that great gathering of Princes and distinguished citizens from all over India who are gathered within the Gateway of India to welcome him on his arrival. But I assure you that ceremonial to my wife and myself was less of a ceremonial to us both than a re-union with many old friends, who showed us the same cordial friendship and kindness which I have always found in this country and which I assure you warmed our hearts at the outset of our undertaking our new responsibilities.

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I shall say nothing of the delightful day that we spent re-visiting old haunts and seeing many old friends in Bombay, beyond making this one remark that I was delighted to find the Willingdon Sports Club flourishing exceedingly. I pass over too our short visit to Delhi and our stay at Dehra Dun, only stating the fact that at the latter place we took the opportunity of seeing some very fine Government institutions, and that we found both the people and the climate disposed to give us a very warm welcome. Let me come at once to the impressions I have received since first I arrived at our headquarter station in Simla ; and here again let me say that I am grateful indeed for the cordiality of the reception we received on our arrival. But I assure you that my approach to Simla brought back to my mind many recollections of years gone by, when I used to be summoned to this hill-top by either Lord Hardinge, Lord Chelmsford or Lord Reading, and I remember that I used to approach it with feelings of some apprehension and anxiety, for I was only a Provincial Governor and here I knew the seats of the mighty were to be found. And now the wheel of fate has ordained that I am to be the leader of the mighty myself !

Well, Sir, I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to accommodate myself to my new responsibilities, and should like at once to acknowledge the generous friendship and support that I have already received from all my colleagues, who share with me the responsibility for the peaceful and orderly administration of the country, and I rejoice to feel that I am once again closely associated with many members of those great Services who have done in the past, and are still doing, such splendid and devoted work for the progress and development of India. And I must add that this old " Koi hai " can't resist a feeling of pride in the thought that he has had

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something to do in starting on useful and brilliant careers in this country several of the gentlemen who are sitting round this table tonight.

There is another impression which has been very vividly forced upon me during the few short weeks that I have been engaged in my duties as Viceroy. I am quite clear that the work that the Viceroy has to do is much too heavy for a gentleman of my mature years, and I venture to hope that all those concerned, when they get over to London in the near future, will hurry on towards the completion of their labours in regard to the Constitutional Reforms, so that my life may more closely approximate to the four happy years I spent in Canada as a Constitutional Governor-General, and in order that I may shortly be relieved of many of my administrative duties. I think it is true to say that I have arrived in India at a time of intense interest and considerable anxiety ; at a time when it requires steady heads and stout hearts to surmount the difficulties that lie before us ; but this is no time for depression or pessimism, for difficulties are made to be overcome. It is a time surely when we ought all to get together and work together in a spirit of co-operation, goodwill and mutual confidence until the clouds of our difficulties are all swept away and the sun of peace and progress is again shining on this fair country. The economic, and in consequence the financial situation, are causing us much anxiety and concern, and I am often told—and it gives me little consolation—that we are in the fashion and that this depression is world-wide in its character. For I think that the present conditions hit particularly hard a country like this, which depends so largely for its prosperity and its revenues on the prices of all its agricultural resources. We must all surely sympathise very deeply with the trials of that vast mass of our

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population who are chiefly engaged in the industry of agriculture ; and I am very glad to feel that the Provincial Governments are fully alive to their responsibilities and are doing everything in their power—and will continue to do so—to relieve the difficulties of the situation.

But I am fortunate tonight in being able to give you more than a mere general assurance on these matters, for I can call your attention to some very important things which have happened in the last days, or even hours, which have opened the way to a new vista of hope in the economic sphere. First and foremost I must allude to the statement made yesterday in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister—who I believe is recognised by all parties in this country as a true friend of India and who could hardly have given a more solid proof of his friendship than he has done in this statement. His Majesty's Government by their generous promise to support India financially in this time, when the combination of constitutional uncertainties with the economic crisis has made the position so difficult, have given a practical proof of their desire to help India, and to create conditions which will make it possible to launch the new Constitution with real hopes of success. But they have done more than this, for they have, I hope, helped to create confidence, the beneficial effects of which will be immediately felt both by the general public, and by my Government in their power to deal with the present situation. In short, I regard this generous gesture by His Majesty's Government as an event of the greatest value to all classes in India in this critical time.

Turning from this I must refer to another way in which His Majesty's Government have in the last days given us practical relief. In ready response to the lead given by Mr. Hoover they have extended to the Domi-

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nions and to India the benefit of the suspension of War payments, and we shall therefore be relieved—partly during the current financial year and partly during next year—of a total burden of £836,000. As against this we shall ourselves forego for the time our share of reparation payments which for the same period are estimated at £227,000. The net relief to India is therefore just over £600,000.

Lastly, I am sure you would wish me to express India's keen appreciation of that splendid declaration of the President of the United States, to which I have already referred, making an offer which displays a desire for international co-operation which I feel is an example to us all. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the combination of these three events may be taken to alter the whole economic outlook. Great difficulties indeed remain and these must be tackled in a spirit of self-sacrifice and unflinching effort, but beyond these difficulties we can now see the dawn of a new hope for better times.

Let me now turn for a moment to say a word on the political situation as I found it when first I arrived in this country. I mean to say nothing of the past beyond this, that I know it has been a period of great trouble and difficulty : a time of great strain and stress on all those who are responsible for the administration. I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and admiration of the work so ably and so loyally performed by all the great public Services of India ; and I am particularly glad to make a special reference to those two Services whose primary duty it is to maintain the peace, and obedience to the law of the land. I refer of course to the Army and Police. I am glad to be able to express to officers and men of both those Services my keen appreciation of the loyalty, the steadiness and self-restraint

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with which they have carried out their duties in times of extreme anxiety and on occasions often of great provocation, and to assure them that they have earned, and are still earning, the gratitude and admiration for their fine service of all peace-loving citizens of India.

No, Sir, my purpose tonight is to apply myself to the political situation at the present juncture ; and it seems to me that there are two very important political questions which were much in the public mind when I arrived. The first of these was the Settlement made between my predecessor, Lord Irwin, and Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the Congress Party, on March 5th last. The second was the necessity for the early consideration of the further activities of the Round Table Conference, whose preliminary discussions had concluded in London a few months before I arrived in India. With regard to the first of these matters I would only say that I have taken over the duty of implementing this agreement and, with the help of Local Governments, shall endeavour with absolute sincerity to see that its terms are carried out. And I am glad to be able to say with complete confidence that, from a conversation I have had with Mr. Gandhi, I know that he is equally sincere in his desire to carry out its terms on his side. But in this connection I feel bound to make this one observation. I have often seen in the Press statements and speeches made by certain individuals who express the view that this agreement is no agreement for peace but merely for a truce in order to give time for preparation for further agitation. I wish to say quite frankly that I do not think that this is a fair way of carrying out this agreement, which was honourably entered into between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi. I stand for peace, not for a truce, and I appeal to all who have at heart the best interests of the country to do the same, for I am convinced of this that it is only through peace that we can secure the economic

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and political future of India. And surely the purpose of this Settlement is to get rid of strife and agitation and to secure co-operation and goodwill in order to create an atmosphere, particularly at this time, which will be helpful in every way for the purpose of working out the future constitutional advance.

And this brings me to the second matter which engaged my attention directly I arrived here, namely, the necessity for settling as soon as possible the date for the further discussions of the Round Table Conference. As you all are aware, after some negotiations His Majesty's Government informed us that they were prepared to restart the discussions on June 29th. But it was found that both in India and in England there were considerable difficulties in accepting this date ; and finally, after some further negotiation, the date has been fixed for September 5th to resume the discussions in London. Personally I could have wished that we could have started earlier, but it was clearly inconvenient to many representatives of important interests, and I hope the date now fixed will be found generally acceptable—at least it will give time for all those concerned to make further preparations before they meet again in London—and I profoundly hope that all important interests will be present round the table at the Conference when it resumes in a few weeks what I hope will be the final stages of its work. And I wish to appeal to all people in this country, both official and non-official, whatever their race, caste or creed, to help me to carry out the terms of this Settlement in order that we may secure the best possible atmosphere in which to continue efforts towards the solution of controversies still unsettled and to carry forward the discussions of Constitutional Reform. I appeal too to my fellow-countrymen at home to realise all the difficulties that confront us here, to treat the situation in India as an important Empire problem and not to allow it to become

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a matter of local party political concern. And last, but by no means least, I appeal to the Press, from whom I have always received the most fair and generous treatment during a long public service in the past, to give me their powerful support towards the attainment of these great ends.

There is one further impression which I must say a word about and which has forced itself on my mind during the few weeks that I have lived here. I can't help feeling that there seems around me an atmosphere of depression and of pessimism. There even seem doubts and misgivings in the minds of some regarding the maintenance of the British connection in India. With regard to the depression and pessimism I would only reiterate what I have already said that when difficulties are before us it is no time for depression, but we must all pull together to get through. And for myself I refuse to share these doubts with regard to the British connection or look to the future other than with confidence, for I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Princes and people of India want the British connection to remain. It is perfectly true that character of the administration of this country will be different in the future to what it has been in the past, for we are all working rapidly towards the time when Indians will take over the administration of their own affairs, to the time when they will become absolutely equal partners with the other Dominions under the Crown. But I am confident that that administration when it comes, in the future as in the past, will be under the Flag of the British Empire. And surely too when it comes it will be for us, British, the culminating point in the greatest piece of Empire service that the world has ever known.

And if I am right in what I have said, then will come nearer the vision I have always had before me, the ideal for which I have always worked during long years

Address from the Municipal Board of Cawnpore.

of public service,—a great Commonwealth of Nations consisting of great countries spread all over the world, grown up and developed to their full strength, freely and justly administered by the citizens of their own particular country, comprising many different races, colours and creeds, bound together by one common tie, loyalty to our King-Emperor King George, and by the example of their administration exercising an overpowering influence in securing peace and goodwill among the nations of the world. And so I say again to you tonight, as I said in London a few weeks before I left for India, I go forward to my labours with faith, hope and optimism. Faith, complete faith, in a great Providence who “ shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we will ” ; hope that that same Providence may give us all the Christian spirit—and I use the word “ Christian ” in its widest and most Catholic sense—to work together in mutual confidence and goodwill for the benefit and welfare of this great country ; optimism that before my term of office is over I may be much more nearly a Constitutional Governor-General, and that this great country before long may once again be on its way to assured and increasing prosperity.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPAL BOARD OF
CAWNPORE.

17th August
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Municipal Board of Cawnpore on the 17th August and in reply made the following speech :—

Gentlemen of the Municipal Board,—I thank you, Sir, most sincerely on my own behalf and that of Lady Willingdon for your most cordial welcome on this our first visit to your city. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to the District Board Members for the desire they also expressed to present us with an address of welcome.

Address from the Municipal Board of Cawnpore.

You referred in your address with justifiable pride to the position Cawnpore has attained in Northern India. Its success is typical of what joint enterprise can accomplish in transforming a pre-eminently agricultural tract into a commercial and industrial centre. But I realise that the growth of industry and commerce has increased your manifold duties in municipal administration. I congratulate you warmly on what you have already achieved and am glad to learn that the Improvement Trust and the Municipal Board are working together harmoniously and with such good results, to solve the question of expansion and to increase the amenities of your growing population.

You tell me that your activities have recently suffered a most unfortunate set-back, both on account of the world trade depression, which is seriously affecting India along with other countries, and also because of the deplorable communal riots which have recently taken place in your midst. I trust you will all work whole-heartedly to dispel this feeling of mutual distrust and restore the spirit of confidence and security that is so essential to the prosperity of an industrial community.

The growth of Cawnpore is an epitome of development in India, where British and Indian enterprise working hand in hand have built up prosperous business and provided for the well-being of the people. I pray that in the same spirit of willing co-operation the discussions at the Round Table Conference will shortly be resumed, and will bring to India constitutional Reforms that will fulfil the highest aspirations of all classes of our people.

The administration of a city like Cawnpore is a most onerous problem and it is the duty of the people to co-operate and assist those responsible for the watch and ward of life and property. The responsibility thrown on the Police during the past few months has been very

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heavy and I gratefully express my appreciation of the way in which they have discharged their duties with a singleness of purpose and unselfish devotion to duty which is beyond all praise.

I was particularly pleased to hear of the efforts which you are making to provide adequate educational facilities for the boys and girls of your Municipality. For, it is incumbent upon all who are responsible for the education of the youth of this country to see that they are fitted for the part they will be called upon to play in the future of India when I trust that minor controversies will have disappeared and India will take her place in the world which her numbers and her tradition so rightly merit.

Let me thank you for the good wishes you have expressed for the success of my Viceroyalty. It shall be my sole endeavour during my term of office to strive to administer with a close understanding of the peoples' wishes, with a sympathetic feeling for their troubles and with an earnest endeavour to do justice to all without distinction of race or creed.

In conclusion I wish to thank you once again for the very warm welcome which you have extended to my wife and myself today. We offer you our warmest wishes for the progress and prosperity of Cawnpore.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE
COMBINED LEGISLATURES.

14th Sept.
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy attended in State the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 14th September 1931 and addressed the Members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature as follows :—

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature.—As a preliminary to my general remarks this morning, I wish at

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

once to make reference to the tragic death of Sir Steuart Pears, the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, which occurred at Nathia Gali on the 9th of this month. In him the Government of India have lost an officer of wide experience, sound judgment and immense knowledge of the Frontier, whose services could ill be spared at the present juncture. I wish to pay this brief tribute to his memory and to tender to Lady Pears an expression of my deep and sincere sympathy, with which, I am sure, you will all desire to be associated.

I consider it a great privilege and pleasure, as Viceroy of India, to meet today and to welcome Hon'ble Members of both our Legislative Chambers, who are gathered here to assist and advise my Government on the important matters which will be laid before them during this Session for their consideration. I should like to extend a special word of greeting to you, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, who, as President of the Council of State, have upheld the dignity and usefulness of our second Chamber during the period of your tenure of that high office. And I am delighted to extend an equally sincere greeting to my old friend, the President of the Legislative Assembly, for I feel that it is to me a particularly happy augury that in his person I am renewing an association full of pleasant memories of the days when Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah gave me such valuable assistance in guiding the destinies of the Presidency of Bombay.

We are met at a time when the future development and progress of India are engaging the attention of our delegates in London, and we all trust that their discussions with their British fellow-delegates, which have just recommenced, may produce the best possible results, at a time too when both the political, the financial and

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined Legislatures.

economic conditions of the country are causing us all the greatest anxiety and concern. It is surely a time when, more than ever before, all races, classes and communities in India should cultivate the spirit of co-operation, of mutual confidence and trust, for is it not true to say that we all have a great common purpose in view, namely, the handing over to Indians the responsibility of the administration of their local affairs, with a view to securing for India an absolutely equal position alongside the other Dominions within the British Empire? Let me now give you some information as to such important happenings that have taken place, such fresh problems that will have to be faced, since last Hon'ble Members met for their administrative duties.

I am glad to be able to inform you that, in the field of external affairs, our foreign relations are of a perfectly satisfactory character, and that our relations with the Foreign States whose boundaries adjoin India continue most cordial in every way.

Let me turn your attention for a few moments to inter-Imperial relations.

As Hon'ble Members are aware, the Government of India deputed the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to represent them before the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament in London on the question of East Africa. Mr. Sastri gave evidence before the Committee towards the middle of June, and widespread satisfaction will be felt at the fact that, on the question of Closer Union, the views, which the Government of India finally authorised him to express on their behalf, were in complete accord with those of non-official Indian opinion, both in this country and in East Africa. My Government now await the report of the Committee with great interest.

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The depression in the rubber and, latterly, in the tea industry has seriously affected the Indian labourer in Malaya and Ceylon. The Governments of these two territories have shown a commendable spirit of co-operation with us in ensuring that the measure of sacrifice imposed by the economic crisis on the Indian labourer is not proportionately greater than what he can legitimately be expected to bear along with the other elements engaged in the industry, and that the labourer, who is not prepared to bear his share of the sacrifice, is repatriated to this country free of cost. My Government are watching the economic situation, in so far as it affects the Indian labourer, with constant and sympathetic vigilance and will do all that lies in their power to safeguard his interests.

When the Order in Council on the subject of the franchise in Ceylon was first promulgated, there was considerable misgiving as to its effect on the Indian aspirant to the vote. It was feared that the requirement of a certificate of permanent settlement would have the effect of debarring a great many Indians from claiming the franchise. Hon'ble Members will be glad to hear that the great majority of Indians, who have sought admission to the electoral roll, have done so on the strength of domicile which can be established by a proof of five years' continuous residence in the Island. The total number of Indian electors is over 100,000 and it is hoped that, as the Indian population of Ceylon learns to appreciate the value of the vote and of organisation, their numbers will increase. Meanwhile, my Government have learnt with great satisfaction that one of the Indian elected Members of the State Council has secured a seat in the Ministry.

Early in the new year representatives of the Government of India will meet the representatives of the Gov-

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ernment of the Union of South Africa to consider matters arising out of the working of the Cape Town Agreement which was concluded in 1927. As Hon'ble Members are aware, the Union Government, in deference to our representations, have agreed to postpone consideration of the Bill to regulate the tenure and ownership of immovable properties by Indians in the Transvaal until after this Conference which will also consider this projected measure of legislation. My Government are deeply appreciative of the spirit of friendliness of which this decision of the Union Government is a sign, and earnestly hope that it will help to ensure for the Conference an issue satisfactory and honourable both to India and to South Africa. Non-official Indian opinion, both in South Africa and in this country, has been greatly alarmed by this Bill, as also by certain other legislation, of which the recent amendment of the Immigration Act of the Union in respect of the value of Transvaal Registration certificates is the most important. The Government of India are of opinion that there is justification for this feeling, but do not despair of a satisfactory settlement of all these questions, provided that the representatives of both Governments approach them with earnest resolution to maintain and, indeed, improve upon the friendly relations which the Conference of 1927 did so much to establish. I feel confident that the interests of India will be fully maintained by her representatives under the wise and able Chairmanship of Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

In his speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly in January last, my predecessor made reference to the collapse in world prices of agricultural products, and the distress which was thereby being caused. Except in a few cases, there has, I am afraid, been no improvement in the trend of prices since then, and the situation for a country which is as dependent as India

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on the prices she realises for the products of her fields is one of great anxiety. My Government have been watching the situation with concern. I am glad to be able to say that the reports which we have received show that Local Governments have been adopting vigorous measures to grapple with it. Substantial remissions and suspensions of land revenue have been granted wherever the situation rendered such a course necessary and similar measures have been adopted in respect of local rates and irrigation dues in several Provinces. Agricultural loans have been given on a liberal scale and concessions made in the matter of the repayment of outstanding loans, and when necessary measures have also been taken to open test relief works and to distribute gratuitous relief. In Madras and the United Provinces committees were appointed by the Local Governments to enquire into the existing situation and suggest measures of relief, and the recommendations made by these committees are being given effect to as far as possible. Harvest prospects in themselves, I am happy to be able to say, are promising. The reports which we have received show that except in Sind, Upper Burma and, in particular, parts of Bengal which have recently been visited by the most disastrous floods, the condition of the crops and agricultural prospects are, generally speaking, satisfactory.

What then is wanted to bring about a general improvement in the situation is a rise in prices. For that we must, I am afraid, wait for the revival, which we all hope will not be much further delayed, in general economic conditions throughout the world.

India, as one of the original signatories of the Covenant of the League of Nations, has always taken a prominent part in the deliberations of the Assembly ; and, in accordance with the desire expressed on many occasions by the Indian Legislature, our Delegation is,

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for the third time, being led by a distinguished Indian. The League, as is well known, concerns itself not only with its primary objects of disarmament and peace, but also with other beneficent and humanitarian activities ; and in these as well as in the matter of co-operation in the economic and social spheres which form a considerable part of the League's functions, India is largely concerned and her Delegates have always evinced therein a lively interest. I am sure I shall be voicing the sentiments of all of you when I wish Sir B. L. Mitter and his colleagues on the Delegation every success in the work of the Session which commenced last Monday.

In addressing you last January at Delhi, my predecessor referred to the Royal Commission on Labour presided over by my Right Hon'ble friend Mr. Whitley, which was then engaged in the concluding stages of its work. The Report of the Commission has since been published, and their recommendations are receiving the careful consideration of the Government of India. After consultation with the Provincial Governments, proposals for legislation will in due course be placed before the Legislature. The thanks of the Government and people of India are due to Mr. Whitley and his colleagues for their valuable report based on a very thorough investigation of the conditions of labour in this country.

I should also like to acknowledge the invaluable services rendered on behalf of India at the International Labour Conferences by Sir Atul Chatterjee who has recently relinquished charge of his duties as High Commissioner for India. Sir Atul was associated with the International Labour Organisation from its inception in 1919. Out of the 15 Sessions of the Conference held so far, Sir Atul has attended no less than 11, and from 1926 he has been in addition the permanent representative of the Government of India on the Governing Body of the

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International Labour Organisation. His election as President of the International Labour Conference in 1927 was a signal honour to India.

I now come to the matter which is that of most immediate practical importance—the financial situation.

At the outset I must express my appreciation of the great services rendered by those chosen by the Legislature to represent them on the various Retrenchment Committees. This is an occasion on which my Government, in a desire to act in a manner responsive to public opinion as represented in the Legislature, have invited the unofficial representatives to join with them, and lend them their support, in performing a very difficult, a very unpleasant, but yet a very necessary task. It is with great appreciation that I have been able to note how whole-hearted has been the response to this invitation. During the past months a great number of your Members have been devoting themselves in different places to an exhaustive examination of the various fields of public expenditure. Their work has been given ungrudgingly, often at great inconvenience and personal sacrifice. One Member, the late Mr. K. C. Roy, whose untimely and tragic loss I, and all of you, so deeply deplore, continued his labours on one of the most arduous Sub-Committees almost to the very moment when he was struck down.

I am glad to have this opportunity to express the appreciation and thanks of myself and of my Government for the public services thus rendered by all members of these Committees.

Their interim reports will receive the most urgent consideration by my Government, for the introduction of practical measures brooks no delay. Let me now say a few words about our financial plans.

In present circumstances India, like practically every other country, must regard it as her foremost duty

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to devise means to weather the unprecedented economic storm which is now disturbing the whole world. It is essential in the interests of the country's credit that special action in this matter should not be delayed, and you will be informed shortly of my Government's proposals for dealing with the situation. For the present it suffices for me to announce clearly and decisively that we are determined to meet the situation adequately, and to maintain those principles of sound finance which India has always followed. This time of constitutional change is not one for making dangerous experiments with untried methods. On the contrary, we shall work on the proved principles which in the long run always reward those who have the courage and tenacity to hold fast to them. I would add that rumours that my Government propose to meet the difficulties by such methods as lowering the value of the country's currency are entirely unfounded.

The plans necessary to restore financial equilibrium will inevitably demand sacrifices from all classes from the highest downwards, and I am confident not only that these sacrifices will be willingly made, but that India will emerge successfully from her present troubles. The intrinsic position of India is thoroughly sound. She has not pledged her credit to finance extravagant or unproductive expenditure; her trade is based on commodities which are necessities for the world, and she can produce them on terms which can compete with any other country. Such difficulties as we must now encounter are caused, not by any internal defects, but by an economic cyclone which has come equally upon all the world, and which no single country by its own isolated action can alleviate. Our task in these circumstances is to preserve the situation until the force of the tempest is past. And, in order that we may succeed in this task, the one great need is

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that all classes and communities in India, officials and businessmen, Indians and Europeans, town and country, should pull together with a common effort. This is a time for all those who are serving India, or who owe to her their political or economic allegiance, to put the public interest above all thoughts of private gain or political advantage. This is the appeal which I wish to broadcast to the country. If it is heard, then I can safely prophesy that India will emerge strengthened from her trials, and that in years to come she will be able to look back upon the present purging process as an event which, though painful at the time, was a blessing in disguise. The public finances will have been thoroughly overhauled, and the new constitution will start with troubles of this kind behind it, and with a clear road for improvement in the future.

The eyes of India are now fixed on those statesmen who are sitting in London and carrying on the work of constitutional reform which received such an auspicious beginning last winter culminating in the announcement of His Majesty's Government on the 19th of January, which went far ahead of any previous declaration of their policy and set the stage afresh for co-operation in the great task of Indian constitutional reform. The delegates attending the Conference will be confronted with many difficult details, but it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to know that every party is now represented at the Round Table Conference, and it is my earnest hope that an agreed solution will be reached in regard to constitutional matters including an agreement on communal questions to the satisfaction of all communities, especially the minorities, the safeguarding of whose rights has been assured by His Majesty's Government. I would point out that in matters affecting the Reforms my Government has not been idle since the adjournment of the Round

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Table Conference last winter. Apart from material supplied to the Secretary of State, it has set up enquiries on the lines directed by the Conference. The experts' proposals on the financial consequences of the separation of Burma have been submitted for consideration to the Standing Finance Committee. Copies of the report of the North-West Frontier Province Subjects Committee have been supplied to all Members of the Legislature. The recommendations of the Committee have been conceived on generous lines and will, it is hoped, meet the aspirations of the Frontier Province to stand on a position of constitutional equality with the other Provinces. The Sind financial enquiry is now in progress and plans have already been made to set up the Orissa Committee during the cold weather. The Federal Structure Committee in London has already resumed its labours accompanied by the good wishes of all in India, and I must emphasise once again the supreme desirability of maintaining peaceful conditions in India during the discussions which are now taking place, and I appeal with all the emphasis at my command to those who have the interests of this great country at heart to preserve an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

We must all have been shocked and horrified at the brutal and senseless murders and attempts to murder which have taken place in this country during the last few months, and I am sure we should all wish to express our deepest sympathy with the families of Mr. Garlick and Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah and Lieut. Hext who have all met their deaths at the hands of these assassins, and by whose deaths we have lost three officers who in their several ways were giving valuable service to this country and the British Empire. I think too that we should wish to express our feelings of grateful thanks for the Providential escape from death of His Excellency the

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Governor of Bombay and Mr. Cassells, the Commissioner of Dacca.

A disquieting feature of these tragic happenings lies in the fact that these outrages have been committed for the most part by immature youths who, at the most emotional and susceptible time of their lives, are being, literally, exploited through the teachings and writings of revolutionary leaders to carry out their criminal and murderous designs. While Local Governments are primarily concerned in the arduous and dangerous task of combating this movement, I feel that they are entitled to receive all assistance within reason that we are able to give. I am confident that I and my Government in the performance of our manifest duty can rely on the support of Hon'ble Members in taking all necessary and reasonable steps to stamp out these terrorist and revolutionary activities which are destroying the fair name of India in the eyes of the world.

I am glad to be able to inform Hon'ble Members that the situation in Burma, which has for months past been causing us much anxiety and concern, has within the last few weeks been showing signs of marked improvement. It is a matter of particular gratification that there has been a cessation, which I hope will be maintained, of racial and communal strife. I profoundly trust that before long peaceful conditions will once again be the happy lot of that Province.

I am sure you would wish me to express our thanks to officers and men both of the Army and the Police for the admirable way in which they have carried out their duties under the most difficult and trying conditions, and, while we must all sympathise with His Excellency the Governor of Burma and his Government on the difficulties they have had to surmount, I can confidently

Address from the New Delhi Municipal Committee.

assure you that their one desire is to get back to normal conditions as soon as possible, to pursue a policy of clemency as far as circumstances will allow, and to take all practicable measures for the relief of economic distress.

In leaving you to carry on your duties, I trust that a great Providence may guide you in your labours and that the results of your deliberations may prove of lasting benefit to our country and to all classes of its people.

ADDRESS FROM THE NEW DELHI MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

26th October
1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Municipal Committee of New Delhi at the Viceroy's House, on the 26th October 1931 and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—Let me thank you, Sir, and the Members of the New Delhi Municipal Committee for your welcome to me today on my arrival amongst you in my position as Viceroy of India to spend the winter season in this young capital surrounded as it is by its historical associations of an immemorial past, and with its possibilities of what we all hope may be a limitless future.

And I think there is an added interest to me in my arrival, for I can well remember the frequent visits I used to pay here in years gone by when your Municipal area was in the early stages of its development, and now I return to find the magnificent buildings fully completed which are the home of the Central Government of India, and the fine lay-out of roads, parks and open spaces to provide all the amenities of life to your future residents.

Address from the New Delhi Municipal Committee.

The foundations of our New Capital city are well and truly laid, but I realise to the full the heavy duty and responsibility that falls on all you gentlemen. For your task must be to see that the developments of modern civic life should always (if I may use your own words) blend with the splendidly tenacious evidences of your traditions of the past, and that your capital city will with all its natural advantages in time become the most beautiful city in the British Empire, and that the Governments of the future will always show that harmonious mingling of East and West, that co-operative spirit for which many of us have for long years been working in this country.

You have told me in your address of your hopes and ambitions for your city with which I assure you I am in complete sympathy, of the added duties which you will be shortly taking over and of the necessities and requirements that you consider desirable in order that you can carry out your work with efficiency.

I was also glad to learn that you realise that such proposals as you have made to me are not immediately practicable owing to the present financial stringency. I will therefore not go into any details on the various points you raise, though I promise you to keep them in mind. I would merely once again assure you that so long as I am a citizen of New Delhi, I shall do my utmost to further her best interests, and I sincerely trust that, before my life amongst you comes to a conclusion, the days of prosperity will have returned to India, and that I shall be able to congratulate you on the fact that during the period of my citizenship much has been done to increase the efficiency of your administration and in promoting in a material and satisfactory degree the progress and advance of your Municipality. May I thank you in conclusion for the charming good wishes to my wife and myself from the residents in New Delhi and assure you that the one purpose

Laying up of Colours.

we have in our lives here is to secure peace and contentment for the people, and prosperity for a country where it has been our privilege to spend many happy years of our lives. And in thanking you for your services in the past, may I wish you all success in the future, and assure you that you will always find these two citizens of yours taking a keen and personal interest in your activities.

LAYING UP OF COLOURS.

24th November 1931. His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying up of Colours :—

Gentlemen,—I consider it a particular privilege to be present here this morning and personally to receive the colours of the three regiments which are represented here today and to give you every assurance for their care and custody in future years. In the olden days the Regimental Colours were carried into action. They used to form the rallying point round which the battle raged ; and they were more precious to all ranks of the Regiment than life itself.

In these days the Colours are no longer carried into battle, but they still remain the emblems and the inspiration of courage, self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty ; and they are guarded no less jealously and no less reverently than in the days of old.

There must be some feeling of sadness in your minds in handing over these treasured emblems. But I desire to assure you that I feel it a great honour to receive them, that they will be safeguarded with all care and reverence, and that the deeds of heroism which they have inspired in the past will never be forgotten in the future.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Muslim Association of Delhi and in reply said :—

25th November 1931.

Gentlemen,—It has given me very great pleasure to receive you here today and to listen to the cordial address which you have presented to me. Your kindly remarks upon my past career are altogether too flattering, but it is true enough that in its course I have become acquainted with many countries and different nationalities, and though my home is in the West, I can with all sincerity say that I am no stranger to the East. There is no place in India where an address from Muhammadans to the King-Emperor's representatives comes more fittingly than in Delhi, which for so many centuries was the capital of Muhammadan Emperors and which retains so many glorious reminders of their rule. I am not unfamiliar with what is left of the monuments of the outlying Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan which were absorbed at the time by the Moghul Emperors, but it is in Delhi itself that I find myself in the heart and centre of traditions and memories of Muslim supremacy.

It is this fact which reveals to me the inner significance of an address from the Muslims of Delhi that repeats the fervent and practical expressions of loyalty to the British Throne which have been uttered here before. I note with great pleasure the expression which you, Sir, have chosen in your address "fervent and practical expressions of loyalty". Such words are descriptive of great civic qualities : fervour limited by a sense of the practical, and the sense of the practical inspired by fervour.

You have referred in your address to the safeguarding of Muhammadan interests. But may I remind you that

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the practical claims of all communities have been carefully explored in many directions at the Round Table Conference which is now sitting in London. The Prime Minister at the approaching conclusion of the Round Table Conference will make an announcement of the policy of His Majesty's Government. I am of course unable to anticipate that announcement or to indicate what action will be taken if the communal settlement is not reached. But I am confident that no decision will be reached on the communal issue or on the general constitutional question before the Prime Minister and His Majesty's Government have fully acquainted themselves with the necessities and desires of Muslims and without the closest regard for their legitimate aspirations.

You referred to the question of the possible extension of the Delhi Province. Upon this matter I can only say that if the proposal should come up to me in a practical form, the view of the Muhammadans will be an important factor in any decision at which I may arrive.

I regard as entirely natural the desire of the Muslim community of Delhi that it should be adequately represented on the Governing Bodies of the educational institutions in the Province, more especially on that of the most important of them all, the University of Delhi. As Chancellor of the University, in the affairs of which I hope while I am here to take a deep interest, and which, I need hardly remind you, has now an able and zealous Vice-Chancellor who is a member of your community, I consider it my duty to see that all interests which can legitimately claim representation are properly represented on the Court and on the Executive and Academic Councils. I am, however, inclined to doubt whether the amendment of the University Act would provide the best method of achieving the object at which you aim and think that the

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possibility of obtaining it by other ways should first be explored.

As far as the Anglo-Arabic College is concerned, I feel sure that the requests which you have made will be carefully considered by the Chief Commissioner, and I can further assure you that sympathetic consideration will be given to any proposals which require the sanction of the Government of India when the financial situation is such as to allow them to give an increased grant.

I appreciate the feeling with which you regard the adequate representation of your community in the public services. I would assure you that we on our part are no less alive to its importance. May I remind you that substantial progress has been achieved. With a few exceptions, in regard to posts of a technical nature, provision has been made for the reservation of one-third of the vacancies from open competition in all services. Let me give you some figures which are perhaps more convincing than words. In the Indian Civil Service 20 vacancies were reserved in this manner during the years 1927 to 1930, of which 17 were filled by the nomination of Muslims, and in the Indian Police Service six of the 11 vacancies were similarly filled. A gratifying feature of the last I. C. S. competitive examination held at Delhi is the success of six Muslim candidates, an augury, I hope, of improving prospects of success for members of your community in the open competitive examinations for our public services.

You refer to the reduction of staff which has been forced upon us by the present financial situation. The principle we have adopted in making retrenchment of permanent and temporary *personnel* in Government services is that the ratio between the various communities in each category should be maintained to the nearest practicable figure. You will recognise, I am sure, that this is

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the only way in which Government can fulfil their obligations to their servants as a whole, but I am glad to assure you that the operation of this principle is not likely to affect the progressive increase in the proportion of Muslims in Government service, since new recruitment will be made on the formula to which you refer.

You contemplate, you tell me, the establishment of unions. I recognise that mutual benefit may accrue to Government and its servants from service associations, provided that they are established on sound principles and represent a common bond of interest of Government servants as such, and independent of the community to which they belong. I trust that you will always remember that the essential feature of all associations of Government servants is their corporate nature, and that recognition can only be accorded to associations formed on this principle.

As regards your request for facilities for worship in the mosques under the Archæological Department, you are no doubt aware that some of these mosques are open to congregational worship. If there are any disabilities which you feel should be removed in respect of any particular mosque, I can assure you that, if you made a definite request, it would receive due consideration.

As regards the feeling entertained by many Muslims in favour of reform in the administration of their *Waqfs*, I assure you that I and my Government recognise and appreciate the anxiety of your community on this subject. As you are aware, it forms part of the provincial transferred subject of religious and charitable endowments, and for obvious reasons, at this period of transition, we do not contemplate any change in its classification. But neither Local Governments, who are directly concerned, nor we ourselves have been idle. In several Provinces Committees have examined the whole question and made recommendations, and, while direct intervention on our part is

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constitutionally inappropriate, we asked Local Governments last year to consider the desirability of ascertaining Muslim opinion, and of instituting further enquiries into the problem, if this was found to be advisable.

In conclusion I wish to thank you heartily once again for the cordial welcome which you have given me and for the kind thought that inspired you to associate with mine the name of Lady Willingdon. We have both already derived the greatest pleasure from the study of the many records of Muhammadan history and traditions in many different parts of India, notably at Bijapur, and though we have lived amongst you here for only a short time we have seen something and hope to see much more of these records in this northern part of the country where the great Muhammadan rulers exercised their authority long years ago.

And in thanking you again for your address, let me assure you that the purpose of my life while I live amongst you is to secure peace, contentment and economic prosperity for all the people of this country, to see that fairness and equality of opportunity are given to all communities, and I shall strive to achieve these results in full assurance that I shall always obtain loyal help and encouragement from the great community which you represent.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE
BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy lunched with the Members of 7th December
the Bengal Chamber of Commerce on the 7th December 1931 1931.
and in reply to the Address presented by the Chamber, His
Excellency made the following speech :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Let me thank you all most gratefully for the very cordial greeting which you

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have extended to me today on this, the first occasion on which I have met collectively the members of your important body, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. May I thank you too, Sir, very particularly for your charming greeting to my wife and to myself and for your good wishes to me in the arduous task which I have undertaken within recent months. That the work has been anxious and strenuous it is very true to say. Indeed, I doubt if ever a Viceroy before had such a variety of problems to cope with in the first few months of his work. But I am still full of hope and confidence in the future and would merely say that if I can keep my health and my sense of humour I trust that we shall all be sailing in smoother waters in this country before long.

My wife and I have frequently before now realised the charms of your city of Calcutta, for I can remember well coming to pay you visits here in the days of Lord Carmichael, Lord Ronaldshay and Lord Lytton : and indeed it is true that only a few months ago I made an effort to pay a visit to your present Governor, my old friend Sir Stanley Jackson, but that, for reasons I need not refer to, was abruptly cut short and my visit lasted only 24 hours. I can remember losing money at your races. I have still a vivid remembrance of almost every bunker on your Tollygunge course and I can recollect a visit I took to Darjeeling, and was taken in the early hours of the morning to Tiger Hill, looked over to the great snow hills far away, was assured that I saw Mount Everest among many other snow-capped peaks and came back completely satisfied with my trip. That we shall have a delightful and enjoyable visit here I have no shadow of doubt, and I am sure that my wife will have many opportunities of appreciating the many attractions of your city. For myself when I look at my programme it seems to

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me that my life here is going to be of a very arduous character, and I would like at once to urge for your future consideration that, when the jaded Viceroy comes down to Calcutta on his next visit, he may come here for a holiday, for rest and recuperation, and I trust that then you will surround him with the charms and attractions for which Calcutta is so famed.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to endorse every word you have said with regard to His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson. He has, as you say, had to administer the Bengal province at a time of extraordinary difficulty and unusual anxiety. Indeed, if I may use a cricket expression which we both understand, he has played on a terribly sticky wicket all the time he has been here. But he is still 'Not Out' and as I joined him at the wickets a few months ago I am inclined to feel that our partnership will win the match.

And what are we playing for? Peace and order in India and very particularly in the province of Bengal. Peace in order that we may restore the economic prosperity of the people of the country and create a proper atmosphere to work rapidly forward towards the fruition of constitutional reforms. Order so that the peaceful citizen can go about his business without feeling in constant danger of his life. Grievous and dangerous diseases require the most drastic remedies, and I am quite sure that all loyal citizens of this province and in India as a whole will co-operate with us in getting rid of the disease as quickly as we possibly can.

I, with you, regret extremely the departure of Sir Stanley Jackson in a few months, but I profoundly hope that conditions in Bengal will soon be so improved that when he leaves he will go with the assured knowledge and

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satisfaction of good work well done to the British Empire. Let me add one word as to his successor. I have no personal acquaintance with Sir John Anderson, but I know that he is a gentleman of great administrative experience and ability, and I am sure that he will receive the loyal support of all parties in this province when he takes over the important duties of his post.

How sincerely I agree with you, Sir, in your wish that financial conditions had been better in India on my arrival here a few months ago. Let me go further and say how much I wish that the unrest which prevails in so many parts of the country could be changed to co-operation and good-will. I am sure that you don't suppose that it is any pleasure to me to have to issue Ordinances of a drastic nature and put my certificate on Bills which increase taxation for us all. Nothing, believe me, is more distasteful to me, more contrary to all my personal and political instincts, and the action I have taken has been forced on me by the necessities and the conditions in this country. Nor, let me assure you, is it any pleasure to my Finance Member, Sir George Schuster, to whom you have referred, to be constantly dipping in those everlasting springs of which you have spoken. But I would beg of you to get this clearly in your minds. I am glad to say that I and my colleagues are a very united cabinet, and while it is true that Sir George Schuster is our financial expert and we generally take his advice, I cannot allow him to be made to take the whole blame for this dipping process of which you have spoken. We all wish to take our share of the responsibility of making the dip, however much we may regret the necessity of our action at the present time.

One most satisfactory thing impressed me tremendously when the financial crisis first struck us a few weeks ago and that was the steadiness with which the shock was

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received by all classes and conditions of people in India. For that I am extremely grateful and particularly to the great business and commercial houses, who very naturally are most deeply interested in finance. I am always an optimist and I believe that I see signs of improvement in the general economic condition of the country, and I can only say that I profoundly hope that when Sir George Schuster brings in his budget of 1933 he may have a much happier story to tell you than he could this year. But if we are to get the improvement which I anticipate we must have a peaceful atmosphere throughout the country. We want it in order to establish that confidence in the credit of India, which is essential to India among the countries of the world and through which alone we can assure that economic prosperity which I look forward to.

The Round Table Conference delegates have just concluded their labours and have shown us the determination of British and Indians to co-operate together and work forward as rapidly as possible towards attaining a federal constitution. It is now for us in India to carry on the work, and I sincerely hope that the committees that have been outlined in the Prime Minister's statement will get to work rapidly, and report in a short time the result of their labours. For myself I would only repeat a statement I made in the first speech that I delivered as Viceroy at Simla, a statement which caused some comment at the time, a statement which I entirely adhere to, that I trust that they will complete their labours without delay, with sincere and genuine co-operation, and that I shall find myself in a reasonably short time much more nearly a constitutional Governor-General as I was in the Dominion of Canada a short time ago. Let me emphasise once more that we want peaceful conditions in this country to restore its economic prosperity and to work out as rapidly as we

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

can a great scheme of constitutional advance, and in order to attain that end I believe it is the duty of all of us to prevent, as far as we can, individuals or organizations from destroying this great purpose which we have in view.

And so I go forward with the same political principles that I have always held during my administrative life in India. The first of these is insistence on obedience to the laws of the land and the second a determination which I have always had to help to lead India on till she secures complete responsibility in the administration of her affairs and becomes an equal partner with the other Dominions under the Crown. I am sure you will agree that the results of the Round Table Conference have shown us that we are all working to a common end, and I call upon all loyal citizens of India, who have the true interests of the country at heart, I call upon all communities, interests and organizations to get rid of that spirit of distrust, ill-will and suspicion that exists in so many parts of the country at the present time, and to co-operate with me and my Government and all Provincial Governments of this country in order that we may move rapidly forward till we reach our promised goal.

And in thanking you once again for the cordial welcome you have given me today, I know that I shall find no more loyal helpers in this great effort than among the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

12th Decem-
ber 1931.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, on the 12th December 1931, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I deeply appreciate the sense of loyalty and courtesy which has prompted you to present an address

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

of welcome to Lady Willingdon and myself on the occasion of this our first official visit to Calcutta. We are both delighted to have this opportunity of meeting the members of your important community, which, though primarily concerned with the protection of landlords' interests, is freely recognised as a powerful factor in all matters of public interest.

I was pleased to hear your references to the important speech made by the Prime Minister at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference. That speech made it quite clear that His Majesty's Government are sincere in their determination to help India in her desire to advance towards a higher political status—and I can assure you that when the various committees, which are to continue the work of the Conference in India, begin their activities they will receive every encouragement and support from myself and my Government. But I would add that in pursuing the aim of responsible Government in India, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India rely on that great body of enlightened and progressive Indian opinion which sees in the constitutional method of advance, the only practical and most expeditious means of the attainment of that goal.

You mentioned in your address, Sir, the earnest desire of the landholders of Bengal for a Second Chamber in the Presidency. I feel sure that you will not expect me to go deeply into a matter about which there has been such a great divergence of opinion for so many years. It is a matter which as you know, has already occupied the attention of the delegates at the Round Table Conference in London and which will no doubt receive the most careful consideration of the Committees arising out of the Conferences which are shortly to be set up in this country. I can, however, assure you of this that when the recommendations of that Committee come before me, I will bear

Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association, Calcutta.

in mind and give my earnest consideration to the views which you have expressed so forcibly to me today.

I listened with sympathy to the remarks which you made regarding the question of special electorates for Landholders. I recognise that in the past there has been a strong feeling that special representation must be given to Landholders, if they are to be assured of an opportunity of protecting their own interests and of stating their case in Elected Councils. The fact that you have hitherto enjoyed special representation is a point which must obviously be borne in mind so long as the maintenance of *any* special representation of interests is contemplated. The whole matter will, however, in all probability form part of the terms of reference of the proposed Franchise Committee and it would be out of place for me to express any definite views on a subject which in a manner must be regarded as being at this stage *sub judice*.

I have noted what you have had to say with regard to the Permanent Settlement. This, as you are well aware, is a matter which mainly concerns the Government of Bengal with whose attitude on the subject I am in complete accord—namely that so long as Land Revenue remains a reserved subject and so long as the Permanent Settlement is not shown to be contrary to the best interests of the State, I would disapprove most strongly with any interference with a Statutory arrangement of such long standing.

I share with you the feelings of horror at the manifestations of violence and terrorism which are all too prevalent in Bengal at the present time. It is obvious that such activities can only end, if unchecked, in paralysing Government, in destroying all semblance of law and order and in placing the lives and properties of peaceful citizens at the mercy of a criminal organisation. Such a state of

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association,
Calcutta.*

affairs I and my Government cannot and will not tolerate and we are fully determined to do all in our power to wipe out these terrorist activities.

In thanking you once again for your loyal address of welcome Lady Willingdon and I wish you all every success and prosperity in the future.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL
LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Bengal Landholders' Association at Calcutta on the 15th December 1931, and replied in the following terms :—

15th Decem-
ber 1931.

Gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for the cordiality and, may I add, the brevity of the address of welcome which you have so kindly presented to my wife and myself today. The loyalty of the members of your Association to the British Crown and Empire is well-known, and, as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it gives me such pleasure to hear your re-affirmation of this long standing devotion to the throne. I greatly value the kind motives underlying your generous references to my service in India in the past, and I fully appreciate the sincerity of the hopes which you have expressed with regard to the political advancement of India under my administration in the future.

To attain that goal we should all strive to banish suspicion, and to concentrate in a joint effort to reach by peaceful and constitutional means the end which is promised as a result of the recent deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

You express apprehension that attempts may be made to rescind or cripple the Permanent Settlement in Bengal.

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajana Sabha,
Calcutta.*

Although this is a matter which primarily concerns the Local Government, the Permanent Settlement Regulation cannot be repealed without my sanction. I am informed that the attitude of the Government of Bengal is that, so long as land revenue remains a reserved subject and the Permanent Settlement is not proved to be inimical to the best interests of the State, Government should not regard with approval any attempt to interfere with a statutory arrangement sanctioned by the lapse of years and inextricably bound up with economic conditions and judicial practice. The attitude adopted by the Government of Bengal on this subject appears to be justified. I am also informed that it is very doubtful whether the abolition of the Permanent Settlement would be of any great advantage even financially to any Government unless it at the same time introduced changes affecting not merely the Zamindars but the interests of many other landlords and tenants in Bengal whose rights are protected by legislation which is based on the Permanent Settlement. I can assure you that any measures entailing consequences of such a far reaching and even revolutionary nature would not meet with my approval.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your warm welcome. It has been a great pleasure to Lady Willingdon and myself to have this opportunity of making the acquaintance of all of you who take such a prominent part in the activities of public life in this Province.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL
MAHAJANA SABHA, CALCUTTA.

19th Decem-
ber 1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajana Sabha at Calcutta on 19th December 1931 and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you most sincerely for the

*Address of Welcome from the Bengal Mahajana Sabha,
Calcutta.*

address of welcome you have presented to Lady Willingdon and myself today. The important position which your Sabha holds in the Commercial activities of the Province is well-known and I much appreciate your loyal offer of assistance to me and my Government in the difficult tasks we have to surmount.

I realise that the communities you represent have suffered particularly heavily during the present economic crisis and that the new financial measures, which my Government has been forced to adopt, have hit you very hard. Given peaceful conditions in the country I am optimistic enough to believe that circumstances will soon show a steady improvement, and you may rely on the Government doing everything possible to restore normal conditions, with a steady determination to keep the interests of India first and foremost in carrying out our administrative tasks.

I sympathise with the apprehensions you have expressed as to the representation of your communities on the provincial and federal legislatures to be formed under the new Constitution, and I am sure your claims will receive due consideration at the hands of the Committees shortly to commence work in India as a result of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference in London. The safeguarding of the interests of all minorities will be an important factor in the formation of such legislatures.

You have referred to the Bengal Ordinance that I have promulgated recently. I feel confident that you realise that resort to such measures is most distasteful to me but I am equally confident that every law-abiding citizen will appreciate and approve the determination of my Government to do everything we can to assist local Governments in order to prevent the abrogation of law and order by the dastardly crimes of terrorists. The

Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.

shortest way to the attainment of responsible Government lies along the path of constitutional development and every step along the right road will receive all possible support and encouragement from myself and my Government.

Gentlemen, let me thank you again for your warm welcome to Lady Willingdon and myself. Let us all hope that through loyal co-operation and united effort we shall have accomplished an important stage in the constitutional advance of India when we next have the pleasure of visiting your great city ere long.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MARWARI
ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

22nd Decem-
ber 1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta, on the 22nd December 1931 and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—I am most grateful for the cordial manner in which you have welcomed Lady Willingdon and myself to this great city in which your community plays such an important part, a community, let me add, with which I have had many associations in years gone by in other parts of this country.

You have referred in generous terms to my former associations with India and I much appreciate the confidence you have expressed in my efforts to frame the new Constitution of India on foundations whereon the political, economic and commercial relations between Great Britain and India will be cemented firmly in the spirit of mutual trust and goodwill.

You speak of your ancient country awakening to national self-consciousness and pulsating with a new life, in a desire to be an equal partner in the British

Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.

Commonwealth of free nations. I think I may say for myself with absolute sincerity that I have always, during the years that I have been associated with India, endeavoured to help forward those national ideals, and the discussions of the Round Table Conference have clearly shown the genuine desire of all parties in England to arrive at that partnership within the Empire of which you have spoken.

I am glad to note too that you express yourselves strongly in favour of constitutional methods to achieve the end we all have in view and have given strong expression to your condemnation of those terrorist activities which are blackening the fair name of your country.

I ask for your complete and active co-operation in creating a public opinion which will insist on defeating the unconstitutional efforts which we see being made in different parts of India at the present time to destroy the peace of our land, for it is only under peaceful conditions that we can satisfactorily move forward towards the securing of constitutional reforms and create that confidence in the other countries of the world which will bring back prosperity to our people.

With regard to the representation of your community in the Legislatures to be formed under the new Constitution, I realise that in this respect your circumstances are somewhat peculiar for, as your families originally came from Indian States, you fear that under Federation you may lose the right of British Indian citizenship because the States have not hitherto given reciprocal privileges to British Indians living in their territories. I understand you are also apprehensive that under Provincial Autonomy you may suffer commercial disadvantages. These are questions affecting the whole of India on which Committees arising out of the Round Table Conference will shortly be at work and while it is

Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.

not possible for me to say anything definitely at this early juncture, I can assure you that the claims of your interests which you have so successfully established in the past will receive the sympathetic consideration of my Government for we fully appreciate your anxiety to safeguard commercial interests and prevent any discrimination in matters of commercial concern.

You have referred to the present economic distress and the additional burden the new taxation measures have laid upon you. My Government and I fully realise that the revival of trade is largely dependent on the success of our financial policy and I can only reiterate that it will be our constant endeavour when dealing with such questions to do everything possible to act in accordance with the needs of India. I trust that before long these endeavours will pave the way for the return of normal conditions.

Towards the close of your address you expressed your strong resentment at the introduction of the Sarda Act on the grounds that you are rightly jealous of spiritual liberty and freedom in matters of religious faith and practice. It is unnecessary for me to lay stress on the civic side of the evils of child marriage but I must tell you quite frankly that in my personal opinion the action taken by the Government of India—before my arrival—was in entire agreement with my own views ; but I recognise and sympathise with your sentiments on this point and will give them full regard when considering whether or not sanction should be accorded to such projects of legislation in the future.

Let me thank you again, gentlemen, for your loyal address of welcome to Lady Willingdon and myself and let me assure you of my determination to do everything I can for the welfare and prosperity of your commercial community.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL
NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the 28th December 1931 and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—It has given Lady Willingdon and myself much pleasure to receive the address of welcome which you have presented not only on your own behalf but on behalf of the whole Indian business community of this Province. It is always my sincere desire to keep in close touch with all shades of public thought in India and I am therefore most grateful to you for the candid expression you have given to your views and aspirations, and for the assurance of your whole-hearted support in the progressive measures which have been launched in the interest of this country.

At the outset of your address you have complained that the views of the public in Bengal have not been accorded the weight to which they are entitled and that their feelings have been treated with indifference by the Central Government. I fear that I cannot subscribe to this view nor do I know the foundation on which it is based. Since I have been in Calcutta I have had the opportunity of explaining the policy of my Government on several occasions ; we are doing and shall continue to do our utmost to promote the interests of India both in the economic and the political spheres and I wish to assure you of equity and sympathetic consideration in all matters pertaining to your own Province.

You have criticized at length the latest Ordinance that I have been compelled to promulgate in Bengal and hold that it may prove a set-back to constitutional advances, may alienate the sympathies of people now co-operating with Government and may not have the desired

Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

effect in removing the root of the evil of terrorism. I must at once counter the first suggestion as Terrorism in itself is the most serious obstacle in the way of constitutional reform and the Ordinance is designed solely to rid the Province of a movement which you yourselves recognise "must jeopardise and embarrass the future Government of India". I earnestly appeal to you and all right-thinking citizens who condemn the hideous activities of the terrorists to help me and my Government to eradicate this subversive movement,—for only with your co-operation can we achieve the desired result. If you have any suggestions whereby you consider this problem can be tackled more effectually, both my Government and the Government of Bengal will be happy to receive them and to give them our most earnest consideration.

I must also repudiate the suggestion you have made, when referring to the events at Kishoreganj and Chittagong, namely that Government show special anxiety to give protection to one section of the people in the name of law and order but fail to take adequate measures for the protection of other sections. The riots at Kishoreganj were essentially economic in origin and assumed a communal colour because they arose from disputes between the peasants and the money-lenders. In my opinion the situation was admirably restored to normal by the prompt action of the District officials. As regards the Chittagong case I must own that I consider your insinuation premature as the case is still under consideration and the final decision has not yet been reached.

You are indeed right when you affirm that "on the good-will of the people depends the improvement of the trade and industry of this 'Province,' but I will go

Opening of the Headquarters Building of the Institution of Engineers at Calcutta.

further and say that on the good-will of its people depends the welfare of India. Let us all seek with cool reason and warm sympathy to strive for the establishment of that spirit of good-will so imperative to the realisation of India's hopes and ours. In removing obstacles and surmounting difficulties in the path of progress I know that Government can count with confidence on the whole-hearted support of your Chamber.

I thank you again, Gentlemen, for the cordial welcome you have extended to Lady Willingdon and myself. We wish you all success and prosperity in the coming year and pray that it will bring in its train a world-wide improvement in economic conditions and the materialisation of the schemes propounded at the Round Table Conference.

OPENING OF THE HEADQUARTERS BUILDING OF THE
INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS AT CALCUTTA.

In opening the Headquarters Building of the Institution of Engineers at Calcutta, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

28th Decem-
ber 1931.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee and Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me thank you, Sir, very gratefully for the cordial expressions of your welcome to me today, and let me assure you that it is a very great pleasure to be present amongst this distinguished gathering and to have the privilege of taking the principal part in the ceremony of the opening of this building which is to be the future home of the Institution of Engineers in India. I am delighted too that it has fallen to your lot, Sir Rajendra, to make the opening speech on this occasion for it gives me the opportunity of renewing an acquaintance, may I say a friendship, with one whom I knew when I lived in

*Opening of the Headquarters Building of the Institution of
Engineers at Calcutta.*

this country some years ago, one who I well know has done long and loyal service during his life for the benefit and welfare of his country as a very important part of the British Empire, and whose generous help and advice on all matters connected with this Institution have from his long experience of engineering been of very great value indeed. You, Sir, have given us this morning a most interesting account of the history of this Institution since its inauguration by Lord Chelmsford just over ten years ago, and of the constant interest that His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, your Governor, has taken in the development of your association and of the help that he and his Government have given you to make it possible to erect this fine building. But I understand that what we see today is only the very minimum that is necessary for promoting the Institution's activities, and that when funds are available you hope to complete it to a final design and to the requirements decided on by your Council ; not only that but in the future you hope to be able to carry out the big scheme which you have in mind for the erection of buildings of your own at the Headquarters of all your local centres.

Let me then congratulate you, Sir, and all concerned with this enterprise on what you have achieved in a short ten years ; let me warmly commend your ambition for the future ; and let me share with you the profound hope that the days of prosperity which you speak of will soon return to this country and that your Institution will share to the full in that prosperity when it returns to us.

For myself I can but say that now that I have the privilege of being an honorary member of your Institution I shall always take a keen interest in its welfare, and as head of the Government of India, I would add that when those happy days of prosperity are with us again, which

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my incurable optimism tells me will not be long delayed, I can promise you that any request of yours for a donation to your Institution will receive every consideration. I say this in all sincerity, for I am convinced that it is the duty of all of us who are engaged in promoting the moral and material welfare of India to develop as rapidly as possible the great resources of the country and thus give to many of our young men with ambition and enterprise a further outlet than the rather limited choice which they seem to prefer at present. This Institution will surely prove to them that the honourable profession of Engineering is one worthy of their best endeavours and moreover one which is of the greatest importance for the advancement of their country.

The building before us represents the home of an Institution which has rendered great service to the Engineering profession in India. It is a well-known fact that Engineers, whatever distinction they may ultimately attain, must, as in all other professions, start at the bottom of the ladder. I know that the Council of the Institution has recognised this fact, and specially watches that the training of young Engineers in the various Engineering Colleges throughout India, whose degrees are accepted by the Institution, is sound and that when these students join the Institution, they are given special opportunities for listening to the reading of papers on engineering subjects, taking part in discussion, and afforded opportunities for periodical visits to engineering works in progress. This is the system on which the Institution works in all of its local centres throughout India.

I believe that the Institution insists on a very high standard for Corporate Membership, and I understand that the Membership has increased at a more rapid rate

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than that of any similar Institution in the world. I think you, Sir, told us that it had increased from 138 in 1921 to 1,289 in 1931 which is a proud achievement considering that not a single Corporate Member of the Institution can attain this distinction unless he be a fully qualified Engineer, both in theory and in practice.

It is an admitted fact that the advancement and prosperity of every country in the world is very largely dependent on the ability of its Engineers. In India we have been singularly fortunate in obtaining the services of Engineers of outstanding ability for our Public Works, including Railways, Irrigation, Roads and Buildings and Electrical projects, and in addition the great Engineering firms in India can count on their Staff Engineers who are second to none in the world.

It is true that, in the past, the majority of the Engineers employed in India have been recruited from Great Britain, but the Institution of Engineers (India) has, as one of its chief objects, the training of Engineers who are bred and born in this country, and who can with confidence be relied on to carry on the high traditions that have always been held by their profession.

Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee has informed us that the activities of the Institution are not confined to any one branch of Engineering, but embrace Engineering in all its spheres. It welcomes to Membership fully qualified Engineers without distinction of nationality, caste or creed, and the standard demanded for Corporate Membership of the Institution is recognised by the Government of India and most of the Provincial Governments, in the making of appointments to their services.

Considering its short life and the amount which has been done in the comparatively brief period of ten years, there can be no doubt that this Institution of Engineers

Opening Ceremony of the Bally Bridge.

has rendered an invaluable service to India. I am fully aware that for the Institution to have attained the position it has in a little over a decade has involved an enormous amount of work on the Presidents, past and present, on the Council and on the Committees of all the local centres and also on the permanent staff, especially on those gentlemen who have held the post of the Secretary of the Institution, for it is on the Secretary that it always seems to me that the burden of work generally falls.

I congratulate you again on what you have achieved in the past, I wish you all success in the future, and I trust that this Institution will for long years continue to fulfil the great purpose for which it has been established.

OPENING CEREMONY OF THE BALLY BRIDGE.

In performing the opening ceremony of the Bally Bridge <sup>29th Decem-
ber 1931.</sup>
His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that we have all listened with the greatest interest to the clear and lucid account which Mr. Colvin has given to us of the reasons for which this magnificent bridge was originally initiated, its design conceived, and its subsequent construction accomplished, and I am very grateful to you, Sir, that you have invited me to take the principal part in this interesting and important ceremonial in furtherance of which we are all gathered here today. Let me say at once that I am very glad to make the acquaintance of this latest addition to the East Indian Railway Bridge Family and from what I have already seen I think we can safely say that the youngest sister of this family is all that a youngest sister should be. I think you will all agree that she is good to look at, well set up, with clean clear cut features, and thanks to the care and skill with which she has been brought up, she will be able to relieve some

Opening Ceremony of the Bally Bridge.

of the strain imposed upon her two elder sisters at an earlier age than would have been thought possible only a few years ago.

We all of us have had opportunities to admire the technical ability by which great engineering feats are characterised in modern times, and I should like to add my word of warmest congratulation together with an expression of my sincere admiration, to those eminent gentlemen whose knowledge of their profession and whose practical skill have enabled them to complete the great work which we now see before us.

I do not propose to add very much to the remarks which Mr. Colvin has already made regarding the labour which has devolved upon those who are responsible for this great engineering feat, but I would like to say that only those who are experts in such matters can have any idea of the care, the anxiety and the great sense of responsibility which tax the nerve and ingenuity of those to whom is entrusted the great task of bridging our mighty rivers. The bigger the enterprise, the bigger is the necessity for care in every minute detail. And the fact that the construction of this bridge was completed without a serious hitch of any kind reflects the greatest credit upon the ability of the designers, the expert knowledge of the Consulting Engineers and the zeal and energy displayed by each and every member of the staff employed upon its construction.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, but one duty remains for me. Mr. Colvin has asked me to declare the bridge open. I do so with the greatest of pleasure and with a feeling of sincere pride that my name should be associated with it. I declare this bridge to be open and name it the Willingdon Bridge.

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION DINNER AT CALCUTTA.

The European Association of Calcutta entertained His 30th Decem-
Excellency the Viceroy and proposed his health and in reply ber 1931.
to the toast the Viceroy said :—

It is a very great pleasure to me before I leave this great city of Calcutta, whose development is so largely due to the energy and enterprise of my fellow countrymen in past years, to meet this great gathering of the European Association of Calcutta, the members of which are all engaged in one way or another in building up the prosperity of this country in order that India may become a most important partner in shaping the destinies of the British Empire in future years.

In past years it was unnecessary for your Association to interest themselves much in affairs which had to do with our administrative life, but in these recent times it has become necessary, desirable, and may I add, very helpful that you should take an active interest in the great political movements that are all around us, that you should give your approval or your criticism of Government's action from time to time, and that you should exercise your influence to help to guide this country towards the best solution of the great constitutional problems that are before us, and assist us to secure absolute equity and fairness for all interests, all communities which form our body politic at the present time.

Let me say at once that I am delighted to have been able to spend the past month in Calcutta for I have a very sincere feeling of deep gratitude for the friendship and courtesy which has been shown me by all classes and conditions of your people, and for the opportunity I have had of discussing very frankly not only with His Excellency the Governor and the members of his Government but also with many gentlemen with varied political outlook, their views on the situation in this Presidency

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and have gained information which I could not possibly have obtained except by personal contact.

As a result I feel that my visit has been of real value for it has given me some insight into the dangers and difficulties of the problems that confront you all. I can assure you that my Government and the Government of Bengal are working in the closest co-operation and that we are both more than ever determined to stamp out the terrorist movement in this Presidency, and I know that I can rely on your important organisation to give us every support in our endeavours.

I wish also with all the emphasis I can command to remind all the citizens of this great Presidency, the great majority of whom are I know loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor and wish to see completely peaceful conditions once again obtaining in their midst, that a mere condemnation by speech or writing of these terrorist outrages is not any real help to the authorities but that we expect them to show that they themselves will not tolerate this criminal movement, and will co-operate to their utmost in bringing offenders to justice, in giving prompt information regarding any terrorist plans and in exercising their moral influence to bear upon the young men and women of this Province who are being made use of by the leaders of this movement to perpetrate their hideous crimes.

I have fully realised since I have been head of the Government of India the feelings of doubt, and bewilderment that have arisen in the minds of both officials and non-officials on account of the fact that they have found it difficult to understand what the policy of the Government has been during recent months. Let there be no doubt as to our policy now. We are determined to move on as rapidly as possible with our work on the constitutional reforms, and here let me say that the British

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delegates will we hope be with us early in February and I trust that the Committees will commence their labours shortly after that date. This being the case I wish to make it perfectly clear that while non-co-operation or any other subversive activities will not be allowed to impede the constitutional programme every measure will be taken to maintain law and order throughout the country and to prevent any party who attempts to do so from paralysing the administration, whether their activities take the form of a no-rent or no-revenue campaign or the boycott of British goods and institutions as a political measure, or defiance of the laws of the country. Any measures which Government may have to take will be particularly directed against organisations which deliberately attempt to create chaos and destroy any chance of economic improvement in the country and there will be no hesitation on the part of the Government in giving Local Governments all reasonable powers to deal with any situation that may arise. The task of administration in this Presidency has of recent years been one of the greatest strain and anxiety and has required and still requires steady heads and stout hearts to carry on the arduous duties. I wish to-night to pay a whole-hearted tribute to the courage and devotion to duty which has been shown by all the officers of the Government of Bengal, and very particularly those employed in the district administration who have been living under circumstances of unexampled difficulty and danger.

Now what is the political situation in India at the present time? As I have already said, we have got the British members of the Committees which have been agreed to by the Round Table Conference coming out very shortly who will join with their Indian colleagues in pushing on as rapidly as possible with the great scheme of constitutional reforms. All fair-minded and moderate

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men and women, who form the great majority in both India and Britain, are in full support of the proposal that Indians should be given complete responsibility over the administration of their country, subject to certain necessary safeguards of which the exact details have yet to be approved.

At the same time we find determined efforts being made by some leaders of the only active political organisation in this country, the Congress, by speech and action of the most unconstitutional and seditious character to destroy the possibility of having a peaceful atmosphere in which to carry out these reforms and to start again that non-co-operation, that civil disobedience campaign, the disastrous results of which to all classes of our people must still be very fresh in your minds.

In the United Provinces the Government of India have given to the Local Government all the necessary powers to deal with this movement, and I have great hope that under the wise and temperate guidance of Sir Malcolm Hailey the Governor, normal conditions will soon be restored.

In the North-West Frontier Province, where as you know we are establishing very shortly a Governor's Province on the same basis as all other Provinces, the Red Shirt party which is openly and definitely allied to Congress has started a very active anti-Government campaign, and we have felt it necessary to give the Chief Commissioner full powers in order that he may check this outbreak at the start.

I mention these two cases in order to ask a perfectly definite question of the members of the Congress party as a whole. Why is it, when we should surely all be co-operating and working together to establish responsible government in this country on the principle of which we

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are all agreed, that these Congress leaders should choose this moment to start this subversive campaign? Is it because the leaders of this movement are thirsting for personal notoriety or is it that this is a serious effort to establish a parallel Government in India, and in a determined endeavour to remove the Governor General and his Government from carrying on the administration of Indian affairs? If the latter, I can assure them that they will find that the Government of India supported by His Majesty's Government and, as I believe, by the great majority of the Princes and people of India are not going to be easily moved. If the former, I venture to say that they are taking on themselves a very serious responsibility in their endeavour to upset and destroy the peaceful recovery of the economic condition of India at a time when peace was never more necessary.

You have all I am sure read recently the result of the Bardoli enquiry which was conducted by Mr. Gordon as Chairman, a trusted officer of the Bombay Government. You will have studied also the clear and unbiassed statement issued by the Governments of the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province giving the reasons which have forced them to ask for special powers from me and my Government in order to secure peace and order in the areas under their administrative control.

A perusal of these documents clearly shows the hollowness and insincerity of this agitation, and I venture to hope that even at this eleventh hour Mr. Gandhi, the acknowledged leader of the Congress party who has only very recently returned from England, will call a halt to these activities, and will agree to co-operate with us and give us the advantage of his powerful influence to help forward the solution of the great problem that is before us, namely to secure for the Indian people the responsibility of administering their own affairs. You may some

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of you to-night be asking yourselves why I, after long years of public service, undertook this great Empire duty in India at a time when political and economic conditions had created problems of greater difficulty than had ever existed before. The answer is that I love this country and have the greatest sympathy with and affection for her people. I have the happiest recollections of eleven happy years spent here as Governor of Bombay and Madras where I made many personal friends and formed many intimate associations which an absence from India of 7 years has not lessened in any degree, indeed I think I may truly say that, on my return here, absence has but strengthened these ties. And the proudest moment of my life will come to me, if, before I leave this country and close my career of service, I can feel I have helped to establish in India a great system of constitutional reforms, for which I have worked long years, on sound and satisfactory lines. And so I go forward strong in my resolve to ensure peace and order in all parts of this country, in order that we may settle down to the consideration of such constructive measures as will improve the economic condition of the country, and give a much wider field for the employment of the youth of our country than is at present available for them, for I believe that there is no country in the world that is in a sounder position to start a trade revival than India when world conditions improve, and we must also endeavour to secure a peaceful atmosphere in order to get on with the work of the Reforms Committees which will shortly be starting their labours.

And with this policy in view, I wish to make a very special appeal on the eve of the beginning of a New Year to men and women of both British and Indian races, who find in this country their temporary or permanent home and who wish to support and assist the Government at this critical juncture, to co-operate together, to put aside

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distrust and suspicion, and through frank and sincere discussion to create a desire to find agreement and overcome the difficulties that lie before us.

I beg of all loyal Indians to assist the Government by openly supporting the policy I have outlined and thus create a great public opinion in favour of peace, obedience to the laws of the land and a rapid development of the scheme of constitutional reforms. Lastly I wish to say a word to my own countrymen on a matter on which I have always felt strongly, a word as to the relations between our two races which has been one of the main causes of our difficulties and troubles in the past.

I believe we have all been placed in this world for a period of time to work out the will of Providence, that there can be no question of superiority or inferiority on account of race and colour wherever our work may be, and that it cannot be the colour of a man that makes a man but it is the character of a man whatever his colour that counts. Fate has ordained long ago that British and Indians should be closely associated in working out the destiny of India and we British can look back with great pride on our share in this all-absorbing task.

And if my countrymen will bear in mind what I have said to-night on this subject, and realise in its true perspective what our relations with our Indian fellow citizens in this country should be, namely absolute equality of opportunity, I am perfectly certain that our two races will be found working together for many long years for the great purpose of building up India to its promised position in the family of nations that we call the British Empire.

And in bidding you to-night 'au revoir', for I shall be returning to you again ere long, I trust that the coming year will bring in its train a brighter outlook for us all, and that peace, confidence, prosperity may be the happy lot of this wonderful land.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CENTRAL
NATIONAL MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

31st Decem-
ber 1931.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Central National Mahomedan Association, Calcutta, on the 31st December 1931 and in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—Lady Willingdon and I wish to thank you most sincerely for the kind welcome you have extended to both of us today ; it gives us great pleasure to meet the leaders of your community which plays such an important part in the affairs of this Presidency. Let me also thank you for the reference you made to Lady Willingdon and assure you that without the knowledge that I should have her with me to give me her encouragement and support I might never have accepted the Viceroyalty of India at this most critical stage ; you will, I know, agree with me that I am fortunate indeed in having her at my side to give me every assistance in the difficult task which lies ahead of me.

You will hardly expect me to follow you at such short notice into the realms of revenue history or to discuss in detail the matters which you have adduced to point the contrast between the position of your community when first the East Indian Company acquired the Dewani and the position obtaining today. I must confess however that I was surprised to hear you suggest—if I understood you rightly—that the “ resumption ” proceedings of 1822 were directed especially against members of your community and that their effect was to deprive Moslem families of grants which had been enjoyed by them from the days of the Emperor Shah Alam and his predecessors. I had always understood that the effect of the Regulations of 1793 was to secure the rights and privileges of all holders of revenue-free grants actually enjoyed prior to the date of the Company’s accession to the Dewani in

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1765, and that the object of the resumption proceedings to which you have referred was merely the proper assessment to revenue of lands not covered by the protection specifically given in 1793.

Nor do I desire this morning to join you in apportioning the responsibility for the comparative slowness exhibited by your community in the adoption of Western methods and subjects of education or for the consequent loss of position in Government service from which your community is only now recovering,—though perhaps I may remind you that the first important educational institution to be established under the Company's aegis in Bengal was the Calcutta Madrassa founded by Warren Hastings at his own expense in 1781 and subsequently taken over and maintained to this day by Government. Government has done all in its power for the furtherance of Moslem education and it is for you to see that full advantage is taken of every opportunity offered. Much of the leeway due to the early reluctance on the part of your community has already been made up and at the present rate of progress I trust the recovery will soon be complete.

This leads me to the subject of your main grievance, to wit the representation of Moslems in the services. Again I have been handicapped by time as it has not been possible to go into all the figures given in the annexure to your address. An examination of the cadres of the various services shows that, whilst a majority of the senior officers are Hindus, the numbers of Muhammadans amongst the less senior officers prove that the recruitment of Muhammadans has proceeded in recent years according to the promises made by Government; it further shows that in order to enlist the prescribed number of Moslems it has been necessary to appoint many who have

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shown themselves less qualified educationally than their Hindu competitors. I feel you must realise that the personnel of a service cannot, without grave injustice to the officers already in it, be changed suddenly. It is only in recent years that educated Muhammadans have become available in considerable numbers and it follows that recruitment in recent years provides the test of whether the Bengal Government has fulfilled its promise or not. I have got the actual figures of enlistment in the Bengal Civil Service and the Bengal Junior Civil Service for the years 1923 to 1931 inclusive which show that 147 Hindus have been nominated as opposed to 94 Muhammadans. According to these facts I feel that it is not fair to say that the decision of Government has proved to be no more than a pious wish. I am sure your Association will do its utmost to improve the educational qualities of your boys, and encourage the competent men to enter Government services.

I was sorry to hear of the belief that you inform me is gaining ground to the effect that Government's enemies have nothing to fear and their friends have nothing to hope for. I feel sure that none of you share this belief and I know I can rely on you to emphasise its complete inaccuracy whenever opportunity offers. At the present time more than ever before we need the co-operation of all law-abiding citizens to further the interests of the country and establish that constitution for which my Government and I am working and I am convinced that all who help in our common objective will be amply awarded by the results.

I am deeply grateful for the loyalty your community has shown and the help you have given to the Government, and I fully appreciate your apprehensions as to your position in the Legislatures of the future. You

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have suggested that Government should decide the communal issue and I feel you are right in thinking this contingency may arise, for the gulf must be bridged soon and progress cannot be delayed by the inability of the selected representatives to arrive at a decision. Let me assure you that by whatever method the decision is reached the rights and interests of your community will receive the most sympathetic consideration of my Government and of myself.

I noted with satisfaction your condemnation of the dastardly outrages of the terrorists. I can only reiterate the determination of my Government to banish this subversive movement that retards the progress of India and tarnishes her fair name.

I thank you again gentlemen, for your cordial welcome and in leaving you may I express my complete confidence that in surmounting the manifold difficulties around us your community will give full proof of its unfaltering loyalty and support to the Government.

OPENING OF THE SUKKUR BARRAGE.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech on the occasion of the opening of the Sukkur Barrage on the 13th January 1932 :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need hardly tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, what a very real pleasure it is to me to find myself once again in Sind and to recall the many happy days I spent here in years gone by when I had the honour of being Governor of the Bombay Presidency and came here, of course, chiefly to perform my official duties, but managed to find time under the guidance of the then Commissioner, Mr. William Henry Lucas, to enjoy the most wonderful sport. Let me say too, Sir, what a pleasure it is to me to renew my

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acquaintance with one who conducted me round the Darna Dam in the Deccan 18 years ago, and I should like very warmly to congratulate you, Mr. Harrison, at having completed successfully this tremendous undertaking of which you have held supreme charge.

But, as I listened to your remarks about our previous meeting, there was one thing you said which filled me with alarm. You were good enough to say that, when you took me round the Darna Dam, I evinced intense interest in its construction, and suggested that with that recollection in your mind you had prepared for me a somewhat arduous and extensive programme of inspection today. I would only beg of you to remember that the last time we met was 18 years ago, and that I was no "chokra" then and therefore I ask you to deal as gently as you can with this rather overworked Viceroy.

I am sure we have all listened with the deepest interest to the historical account of the inception of this wonderful project, particularly interesting to me from the fact that, while I was head of the administration of Bombay, the scheme was engaging the attention of our engineers at that time, I paid more than one visit to Sukkur during my period of office, and the final location of the site of the dam was decided upon while I was Governor of the Presidency ; for that reason I can share in however small a degree the pride you must all feel in this great achievement. The account you have given us of the construction of the work itself, the efficiency of the general management, the care taken of the health and well-being of all those engaged on the work, the difficulties you have surmounted on account of floods and other natural causes, the levelling and contouring of 13,000 square miles of country presents to us all a story of courage, energy, skill and perseverance which fills us all with a desire to express our sincere congratulations to

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all those from the highest to the lowest who have been engaged on this stupendous task, and our admiration at the success of their achievement.

And when you tell us that the total length of the Main Canals, Branches and Distributaries and Minors extends over 6,400 miles, and that three of the seven main canals of this great system have bed levels broader than the Suez Canal we can realise fully the magnitude of this vast undertaking. Therefore with all this in my mind I wish to congratulate very warmly all those who have in any way been responsible for this great engineering work and I should like very particularly to endorse every word you have said with reference to my old friend, Lord Lloyd, who succeeded me as Governor of Bombay, and whose great enthusiasm with regard to the Lloyd Barrage must have proved a constant encouragement to you all in your great task.

When all have done so well it is difficult to single out individuals, but I have great pleasure in announcing today the conferment by His Majesty the King-Emperor of a Knighthood upon Mr. Harrison—the leader of all those whose skill and devoted services have brought about this great achievement. Many others doubtless deserve rewards and I can but reiterate our appreciation of their untiring efforts in conquering the physical and climatic conditions of Sind. The turbulent waters of the Indus have now been harnessed for the service of the people and so thorough has been the work that not even the floods of 1929 and 1930 have been able to break the bonds of discipline.

There is only one unfortunate aspect about this magnificent contribution to the wonders of Indian irrigation and that is that these canals will not start their mission of services under a prosperous sky. Around us are the clouds of an unparalleled commercial depression

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which have given rise to pessimistic criticisms of the whole project we are here to acclaim. I am confident, however, that the full fruits of irrigation can be gathered if the landholders and cultivators co-operate in reaping the inestimable benefits held out to them. The fickle ways of Nature have been countered and all can work unfettered by the disastrous possibilities of famine and flood. They may rest assured that the spirit of devoted industry, that has guided the staff in these arduous years of construction, will ensure a smooth and successful administration of irrigation in years to come.

It is now time for me to declare the canals open. I do so in the fervent hope and firm conviction that they will fulfil the high hopes we have placed upon them and that water will penetrate along the remotest water-courses bringing fertility to every one of the 5,500,000 acres covered by the scheme, and prosperity to thousands of our citizens who will people and cultivate this great area in the coming years.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

25th January
1932.

His Excellency the Viceroy drove in State to the Assembly Chamber on 25th January 1932 and made the following speech :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly,—Before making any reference to the various matters on which I propose to address you this morning I wish to pay a tribute to the memory of the late Sir Muhammad Shafi, by whose death, when acting as a Member of my Executive Council, India has been deprived of one of her most valued and trusted servants. His great ability and his forceful character, combined with his kindness and sympathy of heart endeared him to all those who were privileged to know him. By his death I feel that

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I have lost a personal friend who was always to me a wise Counsellor and adviser and we shall all mourn him as one who in very truth gave his life for the service of his country.

To Lady Shafi and her family we all, I am sure, extend our deep and heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement. May she find comfort and consolation in her great sorrow.

Let me in the first place give a warm welcome to Hon'ble Members of the Legislative Assembly at the commencement of their labours in this session of Parliament. It is the usual practice I understand, for the Viceroy to address the Indian Legislature as a whole, but on this occasion, the state of business does not warrant the summoning of the Council of State before the end of February ; and in view of the important issues now facing the country I decided that I would not wait until then, but would address Hon'ble Members on the opening day of their session.

I am glad to be able to inform you that of our relations with neighbouring countries on our borders I have nothing to say except happily that all is well. It has been a matter of particular gratification to me and to my Government that we have lately had the privilege of welcoming as our guest in Calcutta His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal. Today however I would ask you as the Representatives of India for a moment to extend your vision to a wider horizon than is usually brought under observation on these occasions and to join with me in an expression of the earnest hope which we all feel, indeed which every thinking man must feel for the success of the Disarmament Conference now about to assemble at Geneva. This Conference, the culmination of the first organised attempt yet made to find some means of settling international differences other than by the arbitrament of force, represents

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the outcome of five years' preliminary labours, in which both in deed and in word His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom with the full support of the Government of India and those other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations who are also in their own right members of the League of Nations have played a very prominent part. It will, I trust, in years to come be a source of pride for the Government of India and all the other Governments concerned to reflect how in these years of depression, when all around seemed so dark, they were taking their part in the forging of machinery which however crude and imperfect is designed to free mankind from the greatest of all scourges by which humanity is afflicted, the scourge of war.

In addressing Hon'ble Members last September at Simla, I referred to the Conference which was being convened between the representatives of the Government of India and of the Government of the Union of South Africa to discuss matters arising out of the working of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 and the position of Indians in regard to the tenure and ownership of immovable property in the Transvaal. It is a matter of great satisfaction to my Government that the Delegation which they have appointed has been accepted by Indian opinion as fully representative. Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Mr. G. S. Bajpai sailed from Bombay on the 16th December 1931, while the other delegates, Sir Geoffrey Corbett, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mrs. Naidu and Sir Darcy Lindsay reached South Africa direct from England. For the warm and cordial welcome extended to them by the Union Government my Government are deeply grateful. The Conference was opened at Cape Town on the 12th January by the Prime Minister of the Union in a spirit of friendliness and good-will which augurs well for the success of the deliberations on which it is still engaged. Issues of

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great moment are involved and it is, I am sure, the hope of every right-thinking citizen of India and South Africa that the joint efforts of the representatives of the two countries should succeed in finding a satisfactory and honourable solution of the questions at issue. I was distressed to learn of the illness which prevented Sir Fazl-i-Husain from attending the opening meetings of the Conference. I am glad to say that I have re-assuring news of his health and I have no doubt that you will join with me in wishing him a speedy and complete recovery.

Coming to a matter which is of direct and immediate concern to the people of India—the agricultural situation—I would recall to Hon'ble Members what I said in my speech last September. I then said that what was wanted to bring about a general improvement in the situation was a rise in prices which would come with the revival in general economic conditions throughout the world. The prices of agricultural produce have begun to show an upward tendency, but they are still much below those to which the producer has become accustomed for several years past. An improvement in prices is indeed most welcome, but owing to the restriction of the credit and resources of the agricultural community, which have suffered so serious a strain during the prolonged period of depression, recovery can only be gradual. The situation, therefore, still needs to be watched carefully, and I am glad to be in a position to assure you that all Local Governments are fully alive to the necessity of dealing with it in a spirit of sympathy. I need only mention two outstanding examples. In the United Provinces recent remissions of land revenue have amounted to Rs. 109 lakhs and relief has been given to the tenantry by a reduction in rent amounting in all to well over Rs. 4 crores. In the Punjab, after a careful examination of the conditions in each assessment circle, remissions of land revenue and water rates have been sanctioned on

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a liberal scale, the total cost of relief during the last kharif season being Rs. 46 lakhs. I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the prompt measures which have been taken by the Local Governments in dealing with this matter which is of vital importance to the peace and contentment of the agricultural community which forms so large a proportion of the population of India.

And in this regard I would inform Hon'ble Members that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, inaugurated as recently as 1929 by Lord Irwin, has succeeded in enlisting provincial co-operation in its activities to a remarkable degree. Thanks to the action of the Government of India in endowing it from its commencement with a substantial lump sum grant as well as a considerable recurring annual grant the Council has been able, even during this period of financial stringency, to keep all its research activities in being. It has made generous grants to Provinces and the Indian Universities for the conduct of agricultural research. During the year which has just closed the Council sanctioned a sum of Rs. 9,19,129 spread over a period of five years for a co-ordinated scheme of rice research embracing all the important rice-growing Provinces in India (including Burma). It is noteworthy that towards this wide flung scheme of research the Empire Marketing Board, which has been of the greatest assistance to the Council since its inception, has given an additional grant of Rs. 2,03,279. In the same period the Council has sanctioned the establishment of a Sugarcane Research Station in the Bombay-Deccan at a cost of Rs. 5,22,000 spread over a period of five years out of which the share of the Council comes to about three lakhs of rupees. These two instances by no means exhaust the tale of the Council's grants which have already given a greatly-needed impetus to indigenous research in agriculture all over India.

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Gentlemen, when I last addressed you I referred to the financial situation, to the difficulties which had come upon India as the result of an economic crisis in the world for which there had been no parallel in history, and to the need for courageous action on our part to maintain the financial stability and credit of India. Since that day in September many momentous events have happened. I do not intend to enter now upon an elaborate survey of the present financial position, for that will be most appropriately undertaken in connection with the Budget discussions which will, as usual, form an important part of the business of this session. But it is well that I should deal shortly with the main points in the present situation.

Let me say at the outset that when I take a broad survey of our position as it is today and compare it with the conditions in which we were placed early in September, I am filled with a feeling of deep thankfulness at the manner in which we have been enabled to overcome some of the difficulties which then confronted us, and at the great improvement which has taken place in our general position. Difficulties we still have, and I do not desire to minimise them, but we have surmounted many with a measure of success beyond anything for which we could have then dared to hope, and we can face the difficulties which remain with a new confidence.

The present situation may be considered in two parts. First, the budgetary prospects, and, secondly, the general financial position which is concerned with matters such as the credit of India, the floating debt, and the currency position.

As regards the budgetary position, in accordance with the indication which I gave when addressing you in September, the Government came forward with proposals for restoring equilibrium which were eventually dealt with in

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the special session in November. These proposals covered both Retrenchment and new taxation. As regards the former I should like again to express my feelings of appreciation to the members of the various Retrenchment Committees for the assistance which they have given to my Government. Their proposals are now being embodied in the budgetary demands for next year, and I have every reason to believe that a very full measure of support will be given to them. At the present time of constitutional transition, when we are working towards a new state of affairs in which a much fuller degree of responsibility will rest upon the representatives of the Legislature for the government of the country, I think it appropriate to comment on the way in which even before these changes, I and my present Government have endeavoured to give those representatives a voice in this important matter. It is fair to say that there can hardly be any case in the world where the executive Government has put itself more fully in the hands of the Legislature in considering practical measures such as are involved in Retrenchment, or has given fuller effect to the recommendations of the popular representatives.

As regards the new taxation proposals, it must be admitted that the revenue returns for the first two months October and November were disappointing. But the customs returns for December showed an improvement—producing as they did 89 lakhs more than the revenue for the corresponding month last year. It is too early yet for us to have formed any final opinion as to the course of affairs in the next financial year. It will be necessary as a matter of prudence, and in view of the results to date, to make some modification in the estimates from the provisional figures which were given in September. But these modifications are not of sufficient magnitude to affect our general plan, and we should not feel justified in asking you

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at this stage to approve any substantial change in that plan, or to vote any further taxation. We consider in fact that we are still justified in anticipating a surplus for the next financial year. In these circumstances you will not be asked to consider a new Finance Bill in this session.

It must of course be recognised that we are still in the midst of a world economic crisis for which, as I have already said, there is no parallel in history. Our fate is dependent largely upon what happens in the rest of the world, and particularly on whether the great European nations and America can arrive at some basis for dealing with the problem of Reparations and War Debts which will restore confidence in their economic future. If from any failure to accomplish this, or for other reasons, there should be a serious deterioration in the world position, it may be that this will re-act on us and that we shall have to take measures to protect ourselves. But that is a contingency which we hope will not arise and with which, at any rate, we are not yet faced. Apart from this a possible factor of disturbance in our estimates might be created if internal political trouble were allowed seriously to interfere with the country's normal economic life. That indeed would be a tragic development and my Government, together with the Provincial Governments, are determined to prevent its accomplishment and to give their protection to all who are engaged in business throughout the country. While I and my Government view with the greatest regret the signs which are before us that certain interests in this country are willing to risk bringing great economic distress upon India in their attempts to embarrass the established Government, we cannot admit into our calculations the possibility that they will succeed in achieving this end.

Having dealt with these two factors I can say with confidence that our economic situation in India is sound

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and healthy and compares most favourably with that of any other country in the world. Indian products are still finding a free market abroad and we are not, like other countries, burdened with huge stocks of unsaleable goods. Indian industry is still at work and in India's chief field of manufacture—the cotton mills—we have an example of a great staple industry, still expanding, still fully employed, and working at a fair margin of profit, at a time when all the great industries of the world are stagnating, restricting output, working half or quarter time, and mostly incurring losses. If I look elsewhere I find other reasons for encouragement as regards the future. I see, for example, signs of the development of something new for India in the sugar industry in which I am informed that a large number of new factories are now under order or in course of erection. If any of you, gentlemen, had leisure to tour the world today, I venture to assert that in no other country would you find such hopeful conditions or such grounds for encouragement. To some extent we may claim that these results have been influenced by the measures included in the last two Finance Bills.

These are grounds for hope and optimism which exist in India at a time when the rest of the world is suffering under the deepest distress and depression. Are these hopes and possibilities to be wrecked by internal political troubles brought upon us gratuitously by a certain section of the public? That is a question which I would ask all of you to put to yourselves and which I must deal with more fully in other portions of my speech.

When I turn from the budgetary position to what I have described as the general financial position, I find even greater signs for encouragement. The outstanding event in this field since I last addressed you has of course been the unlinking of sterling from gold. That action by the

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British Government confronted us in India with a difficult question, the answer to which was fully debated in the last Simla session. Looking back on the months which have passed, I think we may claim indisputably that the decision which we then took to keep the rupee linked with sterling has worked to the benefit of India. A catastrophic change was accomplished without dislocating the machinery of business. All transactions have continued smoothly and many of our special problems have been enormously eased. The very success of this policy, the very ease with which the change has passed may perhaps tend to prevent a proper appreciation of the dangers which have been avoided. It is too early yet to make forecasts as to the distant future and our action will largely depend on world developments, but for the present we may fairly congratulate ourselves that we have taken the right path.

Let me put before you briefly some of the encouraging results which have been achieved.

In the first place the Ways and Means position of the Government has been considerably eased and the floating debt has been reduced from Rs. 84 crores to Rs. 61 crores. Then again we have been able to acquire very substantial sterling funds through the market, and to pay off the whole of the £15 million sterling loan which matured in London on January 15th without borrowing in London and without drawing on our reserves. This is a tremendous achievement.

On top of this it has been possible to ease the local situation by a reduction in the bank rate to a more normal figure.

Rupee exchange has been and continues to be strong and it has been possible to work the very moderate measure

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to control exchange operations, which we imposed, without any embarrassment to the business community.

Combined with all these events there has been a marked improvement in India's credit, and in the price of her securities, especially in London. For example, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sterling securities which in September touched $43\frac{1}{2}$ now stand at $55\frac{1}{2}$, and there have been similar improvements all round.

In the general world of commerce there has been a considerable easing of the situation and a considerable improvement in the rupee prices of India's main commodities, especially cotton.

Now, gentlemen, I am very much surprised to find that in the midst of all these encouraging signs, when in fact the vast masses of India whose livelihood depends on the economic position can feel a new hope and raise their heads from depression to the first signs of light on the horizon, it has been thought fit by a certain group and particularly a certain section of the Press to propagate accounts of the financial condition of India designed to cause alarm and despondency. It is said that the financial position is precarious, that we are drifting towards ruin, and those who say these things are, for reasons of their own, clearly aiming at producing such results. In particular these gentlemen urge that the export of gold is ruinous to India, and that the Government's currency policy which has recently involved considerable expansion is creating a dangerous inflation which threatens our future stability. Let me deal briefly with these two points.

As regards the exports of gold, what are really the facts? Those who sell gold do so because they can make a profit on their holdings. They have made an investment which has turned out well. Why should they be deprived of the opportunity to take advantage of it? There is no

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public ground on which this could be justified, for the export of gold at this stage is definitely and decisively to India's advantage. Most countries which, like India, rely on primary agricultural products for maintaining their balance of international trade and payments, are just now labouring under acute difficulties, which force them to adopt extremely stringent measures for the control of exchange which greatly hamper the commerce of the country. At such a time India is able to tap a portion of her own vast resources, and by parting with a very small fraction of her immeasurable stores of gold to realise a favourable balance of international payments. The good results of this are already apparent—a strengthening of our exchange—an easing of our bank rate—and the accumulation of sterling resources which have already, as I have just pointed out, enabled us to pay off £15 millions sterling without borrowing, and thus relieve the country of a capital charge of Rs. 20 crores and a recurrent charge of 110 lakhs per annum. These are only a few of the public advantages, and they are, as I have said, combined with private profit. Why should the country not be left free to reap this advantage. A time has indeed come when India's huge investments in gold—which have for many years been barren and unproductive—are proving profitable to the private holders and to the State alike. Those who would press a contrary view profess to argue that India is weakening her position by this process. But if the holding of gold in a country is to be regarded as an investment and a source of strength, of what value is it, if it is never to be drawn upon? What is the use of a reserve against bad times, if when the bad times come it is not to be used? Moreover the amounts exported are negligible in relation to India's total holding of gold. What that total holding may be no one knows; but I may remind you, gentlemen, that India's net imports of gold during the last 30 years alone amount

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to no less than 550 crores worth as valued at the time of import, or well over 700 crores if revalued at present prices. Against this, exports since September have amounted in value to no more than 40 crores at present prices. It will be seen that this volume is of no appreciable importance compared with what has been imported in recent years alone, and without taking account of the vast stores which must have been accumulated before 1900.

I would further remind you that the export of gold is no new feature in India's commercial life. Large quantities have always moved in and out, and on special occasions India has tended to realise gold as a means of adjusting the balance of payments, or in order to take advantage of profitable opportunities of selling gold against rupees. In three recent years, 1915, 1918 and 1921, the exports of gold exceeded the imports. In fact it is clear on an impartial view that there is not only no cause for anxiety in what is now happening, but that it is conferring a great benefit on both public and private interests, and proving that there are at least some occasions in an economic cycle when India's ancient tradition of investment in gold can prove to be of direct economic advantage to the country.

Then I would turn to the other circumstance which has been referred to in certain quarters as justifying pessimism about our position—the recent expansion of our currency. It is a little curious that the same gentlemen who a few months ago were abusing the Government for the so-called ruinous policy of contraction, should now turn round upon us with almost equal violence when it becomes necessary once again to expand the currency, and possibly thereby greatly to improve the position of the Government as currency authority without endangering the general position.

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What are the facts in this case ? Since September currency has been expanded by about 43 crores, but in the earlier months of the financial year the contraction had been 27 crores, so that during the current financial year there has been a net expansion of just over 16 crores. This may be balanced against a net contraction during the previous year (1930-31) of nearly 39 crores. The expansion since September has been the necessary sequel of the greater demand of the public for currency—partly to meet trade requirements which are greater owing to the rise in rupee prices, to which I have already referred, partly to cope with more active trade, and partly because some of those who have sold gold are now holding currency in its place. The whole process has been perfectly normal and healthy, and, of course as you all realise it brings great advantage to the Government by enabling it to reduce its debt to the public—treasury bills in India and the sterling loan in England—and to increase its earnings as currency authority.

From every point of view I am perfectly satisfied that the position is not only sound and healthy but that we are now justified in cherishing and spreading abroad a new spirit of hope for India of economic recovery.

Let me now turn to the present political situation. We are meeting today at a time which is perhaps in many ways the most anxious and critical that this country has ever passed through, a time which is full of possibilities for the future peaceful advance and prosperity of India, a time when I am confident I can rely on the fair and sober judgment of every Hon'ble Member in any discussions which may be raised on the present political situation during the coming session, and in order to give you a perfectly clear idea of the position as we see it, I propose in the first place, to state as shortly and frankly as I can, the reasons which have led me and my Government to take the drastic action

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which we have felt bound to undertake against unlawful activities of the Congress party within the last few weeks, and further to tell you what is the definite policy of the Government of India for the future. Hon'ble Members are aware that I took over the duties of Viceroy of India in April last shortly after my predecessor Lord Irwin had completed the discussions with Mr. Gandhi which resulted in what is known as the Delhi Settlement, and under the terms of which Mr. Gandhi agreed to call off his civil disobedience campaign.

It became my duty and that of my Government to make every effort to implement the terms of the Settlement, and I can truly say that, during these past months, all officers of Government have endeavoured, in spite of great difficulties, to carry out in spirit and in letter the obligations involved in the Settlement. On the other hand, it was soon clear to myself and to my Colleagues that the attitude assumed by Congress throughout the country was to regard the Settlement not as a settlement at all, but as a means for consolidating their position and for making preparations for a further attack on constitutional authority. Nonetheless, I and my Government deliberately forebore from taking the action which in other circumstances these preparations would clearly have demanded. So long as there was any hope of achieving the conditions, which the Delhi Settlement was intended to secure, we continued to incur risks which could be justified by no other consideration. We spared no effort in our attempts to persuade the responsible leaders of Congress to abandon activities which we were convinced could lead only to disaster. In the United Provinces the Local Government were actually engaged in discussion with representatives of Congress when the latter declared a no-rent campaign—the consequences of which, had their action remained un-

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challenged, would have been the creation of a state of class warfare throughout the Province. In the North West Frontier Province persistent attempts were made to obtain the co-operation of the Congress Party, represented by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers, in giving practical effect to the desire of the people as a whole to enjoy the same status as other Provinces. Our efforts were ignored or rejected. Week after week I received reports of grave deterioration in the position, and of the growth of a movement, frankly revolutionary, conducted in the name and with the full support of Congress, which, if it were allowed to continue to its avowed purpose, must have imperilled the peace of the Frontier and of India. And still we held our hand. To the last we strove to maintain the peace. The Chief Commissioner, with the greatest loyalty to the policy of Government, refrained from asking for powers and measures until he had reluctantly to report that the margin of safety had been passed, and that he could delay no longer consistently with the discharge of his duties. There has been no lack of goodwill on my part or on that of my Government. I have appealed for co-operation personally from the leader of the Congress party and many of his followers. I begged them to join in a common effort to secure as rapidly as possible, responsibility for Indians to administer their affairs. I am conscious of no deviation by myself or by my Government from the way of conciliation until Congress had themselves wantonly torn up the path. Their action in the United Provinces and on the Frontier, continued despite repeated advice and warnings, compelled my Government to take measures which ran counter to our wishes and were contrary to the policy we had consistently endeavoured to pursue. Once those measures were taken, it is clear that they could not be suspended or withdrawn unless the activities that had made them necessary were definitely abandoned. The reply of Cong-

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ress was a declaration of their purpose to extend their activities throughout the length and breadth of India, and by a revival of civil disobedience in order to cripple the administration. No Government worth the name could hesitate to accept the challenge. Failure to do so would indeed make all Government in this country impossible. There must be no room for misunderstanding either on the part of the public or of those who choose to disobey the law. There can be no compromise in this matter. I and my Government are determined to use to the full the resources of the State in fighting and defeating a movement, which would otherwise remain a perpetual menace to orderly government and individual liberty. While Government will take all the requisite steps to guard against any abuse of the special powers it has been necessary to take, there can be no relaxation of the measures now in force against civil disobedience, so long as the circumstances exist which make them necessary. If we are to elect between the barren, destructive path which, if persisted in, can only lead to ruin and the breaking up of laws and the better way of advancing by means of free and friendly discussion to constructive ends, surely no reasonable man, no man who has the true interests of his country at heart, can hesitate in his choice, and I look with confidence to you, gentlemen, sitting in this Assembly which is a witness in itself of what has already been done and a promise of what may yet be achieved by the constitutional method, to support me and my Government in our vindication and maintenance of the conditions on which alone political progress can be securely and successfully pursued.

I turn now to the other side of the policy of Government and desire to take you into my confidence regarding the steps which are being taken to implement the programme of constitutional reform outlined in the Prime Minister's recent declaration.

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In the course of his description of the policy of His Majesty's Government the Prime Minister announced the determination of the Cabinet to proceed with the detailed examination of constitutional problems still unsolved and to pursue without interruption the method of co-operative consideration. To this end the Prime Minister announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to set up a number of Committees charged with the duty of enquiring into specific problems, and also a more general Committee, in effect a working Committee of the Round Table Conference, which would remain in being in India and with which His Majesty's Government, would keep effective and continuous touch. The Prime Minister's intention was that this general Committee should be the means by which contact will be maintained by His Majesty's Government with the large representative political body typified by the Round Table Conference.

The Prime Minister also made reference in his announcement to certain particular tasks other than those assigned to these Committees. I desire to describe briefly the action which we are taking to carry out the plans of His Majesty's Government in these three directions.

The specific Committees are the Franchise Committee, of which the Marquess of Lothian is Chairman, the Federal Finance Committee which will be presided over by the Right Hon'ble Lord Eustace Percy and the Indian States Enquiry Committee presided over by the Right Hon'ble J. C. C. Davidson. The *personnel* of these Committees and their terms of reference which are contained in letters addressed by the Prime Minister to their respective Chairman have been published. The British members of these specific Committees are at present on their way to India and are expected to land at Bombay at the close of this week. The Secretariats have already been assembled and are at work, so that the Committees ought to be able to make an

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effective start with their enquiries immediately on their arrival. Provincial Governments are collecting materials for their discussions with the Franchise Committee which will visit almost all Provincial headquarters. Provincial Franchise Committees have been constituted to work in close association with the main Committee.

I am deeply interested in the work of all these Committees, but I have a particular concern with the general Committee known as the Consultative Committee over which I shall myself preside as the deputy of the Prime Minister.

My attention has been directed to statements made in the public press which indicate the existence of an impression that the Consultative Committee will be a merely ornamental body or at most will set to work only when it receives the reports of the specific Committees. If that impression is at all general or has gained ground in the Indian Legislature, I desire to explain the true position. As I have said the Consultative Committee will be the machinery by which on the outstanding constitutional problems His Majesty's Government will remain in contact with the discussions which will continue in India. The detailed consideration of issues vital to the new constitution of India will not be discontinued in England merely because the second session of the Round Table Conference has come to an end. It is an integral portion of the plans of His Majesty's Government that a similar detailed examination should proceed contemporaneously and on parallel lines in India, and that our explorations here should be co-ordinated with work being done in London through the contact which I shall maintain with the Prime Minister whose deputy in this matter I shall be. Accordingly it will be the function of the Consultative Committee to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in filling in the gaps in the constitution so far sketched by the Round Table Conference,

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whether these gaps are due to differences of opinion in the Conference or to limitations imposed, by lack of time upon its investigations.

The scope of work open to the Committee is so wide and so important that no time should be lost in setting to work. I have therefore decided to assemble the Committee during the present week, and I trust that at our preliminary deliberations we may be able to inaugurate an active and strenuous programme according to which in consultation with His Majesty's Government the details of the constitution may be fully and rapidly explored. It is my intention so far as my other duties may permit to engage personally in the work of the Committee.

In that new constitution the North-West Frontier Province will find a place as a Governor's Province of the same status as other Governors' Provinces with due regard to the necessary requirements of the frontier. But in the meantime my Government and the Chief Commissioner have been earnestly engaged in preparing a constitution which will forthwith place the Frontier Province on the basis of a Governor's Province under the present Act. We have been assisted by the advice which I am glad to be able to describe as enthusiastic and harmonious of a local non-official Committee. It is no light task to frame a constitution for an area in which so far representative institutions have not proceeded beyond the field of local self-government while even in that field the practice of popular election is only in its infancy. My Government have however been able to submit to the Secretary of State detailed proposals on matters so fundamental as the franchise, constituencies and the constitution of the Legislature. I have good hopes that if these proposals commend themselves to the Secretary of State in Council, we may at no distant date have a local Legislature in session at Peshawar.

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.But something more is necessary. The new Government and the Legislature itself must be invested with powers and suitable financial provision must be made. For these purposes the necessary Devolution Rules have been drafted and are now under technical examination. I anticipate that this portion of our task will not lag behind our proposals for the representative system, so that when the local Legislature is constituted and ready to assume its duties we shall have placed it and the local Executive in possession of appropriate authority analogous to their counterparts elsewhere.

There is here a particular matter to which I desire to refer. The North-West Frontier Province Subjects Committee has, as you are aware, advised us that the Province invested with its own authority will be unable to subsist on its indigenous resources. The course suggested is the grant of a central subvention. The need for such a subvention and its probable amount are under enquiry by my Government. It is our intention to consult the Indian Legislature when the details have been worked out.

The only other matter raised in the announcement made by the Prime Minister to which I desire to refer is the separation of Sind from the Presidency of Bombay. The task which has been laid upon us is to confer with the representatives of Sind for the purpose of trying to overcome the financial difficulties in the way of separation. My Government, after consultation with the Government of Bombay, have had under examination the nature and scope of such a Conference and have submitted (or are in process of submitting) their conclusions to the Secretary of State for his approval. We trust to be able to initiate the Conference at an early date.

In conclusion I wish to make one remark of a rather more personal character. Notwithstanding the many difficulties which we have had to surmount during the past

Address of Welcome presented by the Country League.

few months, and the serious problems that still lie before us, with the recollection of all I owe to this country in my public service of years gone by, I feel it a great pride and privilege towards the end of my public life to be leading India on to her promised position as an absolutely equal partner with the other Dominions under the Crown. Our difficulties must and shall be surmounted and my Government are determined to allow no subversive or revolutionary activities to prevent us from achieving this great purpose for which many of us have worked for long years. I have asked for co-operation from all in the past. Today I ask for the cordial co-operation of all those who have the true interests of their great country at heart to help us to solve the many problems that lie before us, to exercise the spirit of equity and fairness, and to bring about that confidence, goodwill and trust between our two races which have worked together for so many years to secure the well-being and prosperity of India in the past and will I feel confident long continue to do so in the future.

I leave you to your labours and trust that a Great Providence may guide you in the important duties you have to undertake.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE COUNTRY
LEAGUE.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Country League on Monday, the 7th March 1932, to which he replied in the following terms:—

Gentlemen,—I am indeed grateful for this opportunity of meeting the representatives of the Country League, and I thank you on behalf of Lady Willingdon, as well as myself, for your cordial words of welcome.

I realise that the members of your League, representing various communities and occupied in spheres of diverse

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

interests, form a body which is known for its loyalty to the Crown and to the best interests of the country in which you hold so large a stake. The manifold services you have rendered hitherto have elicited well merited praise. Now your responsibilities have increased with the march of India along the road to self-government. New rights bring new duties and their discharge will depend especially upon the response of those on whom circumstances have bestowed opportunity or imposed obligations. With all the influence you command I am confident that in your mission you will achieve success. In your work you may be sure of receiving encouragement from my Government and myself. I trust your League will always prove a source of valuable opinion to Government, and an active influence amongst your dependents for the happiness and prosperity of the countryside.

Before leaving you I must add my appreciation of your message of humble duty and sincere devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. I will convey this message which I know will be received with sincere gratitude.

I thank you again, gentlemen, for the warm expression of your good-will. I shall continue to watch your work with interest,—happy and proud in the knowledge that I can count on your unswerving support in the difficult tasks before us.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE TALUQDARS OF
OUDH.

17th March 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh and replied in the following terms :—

Taluqdars of Oudh,—It has been a very great pleasure to Lady Willingdon and myself to receive your

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

cordial address of welcome. My predecessors have all enjoyed a similar privilege which is in accordance with your traditional practice. They have all testified to your staunch loyalty and good faith to our Sovereign and it is a particular pleasure to me today to have further proof of your unswerving support and your readiness to assume the increased responsibilities that the march of time has laid upon you.

I thank you for alluding in such generous terms to the services it has been my privilege to render. I, in my turn, wish to express the appreciation of myself and my Government for all you have done to help them in their administrative duties.

You are perfectly correct in saying that the drastic action I have been compelled to take recently has been a most distasteful duty. It has been done with an object which I am glad to hear you appreciate. My Government and I are determined to introduce the constitutional reforms as rapidly as possible in order to bring India to her rightful position amongst the Dominions of the Empire, and in our task we shall not tolerate subversive and revolutionary obstruction.

But I do not wish to dwell on the general political situation as I feel the policy of my Government is now clear to all. Rather let me turn to the specific points raised in your address. I readily appreciate your anxiety regarding your future position. The main point centres on the demand that your rights and privileges should be secured in the new constitution. Presumably your chief fear is not so much that your estates might be confiscated in contravention of the Covenant of 1859, but that they may be affected prejudicially by legislation in regard to tenant law and the like. Whilst I can assure you that the British Government would not tolerate the legislative confiscation of your estates, you would not I

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am sure expect me to give any guarantee against the introduction of legislation which landlords might hold to be prejudicial to them and unduly favourable to tenants. I can only say that every effort will be made in framing the reformed constitution to guarantee to all classes and interests full opportunity of asserting their legitimate rights and maintaining their position. But it is inevitable that in the long run classes now enjoying a preferential position will only be able to maintain it if they so organise themselves as to secure a real and effective voice in the new legislatures and a strong position in the new administration.

As regards a Second Chamber, the United Provinces Government recommended to the Simon Commission that a Second Chamber should be included in the new Constitution. But opinion on this point is divided, and it is for you to place your views before the Franchise Committee. I would ask you to remember that a Second Chamber has its dangers as well as its advantages from the point of view of safeguarding vested interests. Too much reliance on the power of a Second Chamber to veto or delay legislation which may be unpalatable to your class may possibly result in the Second Chamber being gradually deprived of all effective power, if not in its being completely abolished. It will be most important for you Taluqdars to assert your position and safeguard your interests by taking an active part in the work of the Lower Chamber whether there be a Second Chamber or not.

You have mentioned the possible separation of Oudh from Agra. This subject has not aroused much public interest hitherto. The mere constitution of Oudh as a separate province would in no way check the spread of the democratic or even revolutionary ideas to which you allude in the early part of your address. Moreover, the

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multiplication of separate administrative units will add considerably to the expense of the future government—an aspect of the case which advocates of new provinces are often apt to overlook.

I wish to conclude by saying that in my opinion you will start under the new Constitution with the very great advantages of your prestige, your resources and the tradition and habit in your estates of centuries of obedience to your authority. If you utilise these advantages to the full, you can confirm and strengthen your position by proving your value to the tenantry ; for your future well-being you should trust rather to retaining the esteem and affection of your tenants than to extraneous aid of a constitutional form which is liable as all other human institutions to change and dissolution.

Let me impress upon you that your interests can best be preserved by fostering happy and sympathetic relations with your tenants whose interests, as you rightly say, are identical with your own. I trust you will all take an active part in the management of your estates, move amongst your tenants and appreciate their difficulties. Then you will be able not only to withstand the attacks of agitators but to ensure for yourselves an unassailable position under the new Constitution. You will be able to reap the full advantages of your undeniable influence and loyalty and to prove that you are of real value and can confer some benefits on your dependents. This is the effective method of securing your position.

I thank you again, gentlemen, very much for your warm welcome and good wishes which Lady Willingdon and I reciprocate heartily.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE RED CROSS
SOCIETY.

22nd March 1932. The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the combined Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society held at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 22nd March 1932 :—

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to preside over the joint gathering of those who are interested in the work of these two great charitable movements, and I am delighted to see such a truly representative gathering here this afternoon.

This meeting is being held for the first time in Delhi in March instead of in Simla in June, and I have approved the change because I hope that a larger number of Provincial representatives have been able to find it possible to attend in Delhi and also of course because this is our capital city.

Last year I compared the work done and the funds collected by the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association to that of the Canadian Branch of the Association and it appeared that Canada and India were engaged in a neck-to-neck struggle. This year the Canadian Report has not yet reached us, so we are unfortunately not in a position to compare results. I would, however, request the backers of India in this race to concentrate their efforts on helping the institutions of their own land and not to be persuaded to transfer their attentions to the Hospitals of those countries who combine chance and charity by running large sweepstakes, a percentage of the contributions to which go to charity, whilst a very much greater percentage go to chance.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has given us a very interesting account of the Association's varied

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and the Red Cross Society.*

activities, and I congratulate the Indian Council on the results achieved in a very difficult year. I was particularly glad to learn that a start has been made in training mill workers in Bombay in first aid, as this was one of the points referred to in the Labour Commission's Report. I am delighted to learn of the success of the All-India Ambulance Competitions in Lahore, and would like to emphasise what has been said about the importance of holding provincial competitions.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's own staff has, alas! been in need of first aid on more than one occasion this year, and I am informed that one of the unlucky—or should I say lucky?—victims received assistance from a lady who had been trained in Home Nursing and who did not hesitate to put her knowledge to practical use.

General Megaw's statement about the activities of the Brigade shows that its members are busy in many directions. I am particularly glad to learn that the Parsi Ambulance Division will shortly open its own Headquarters Building in Bombay, as I have vivid recollections of the splendid work carried on by the members of this Division when I was Governor of the Province.

The work of the Calcutta Nursing Divisions reflects great credit on Mrs. Cottle, the Lady District Superintendent, and her nursing sisters. The report, I notice, mentions that these ladies have made over 6,000 bandages for leper hospitals, which entailed the winding of 120,460 yards of material. Such figures are staggering to a mere man, even to one whose household has in the past done its share of bandage winding.

The Red Cross report is certainly a cheerful one and I was considerably impressed by the amount of good solid work which it records. I hope the slump in membership

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is merely a temporary one due to financial depression. I note from the membership table at the beginning of the report that only three provinces—the Punjab, which still leads with 9,464 members, Sind and the United Provinces, all of which I congratulate on their activity this year—have reached four figures, although Bombay and Burma are not far off. All the large provinces should easily be able to enrol over 1,000 members and I trust they will next year make this their goal.

I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking the generous donors—Colonel Archer, Dr. U. N. Brahmachari and Mrs. Anant Ram—whose contributions have been recorded by Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith. In these hard times such gifts are doubly welcome and enable the Society to carry on work which would otherwise be impossible. I should also like to thank those devoted workers—Mrs. Tarr in the Central Provinces, and Mrs. Wathen in Madras—whose services we are unfortunately losing this year.

Reviewing as a whole the various branches of humanitarian work which have been reported on here today—all of which have their headquarters in the fine Red Cross Building which we owe to the generosity of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh—I note with pleasure the advance which has been made towards co-ordination. The multiplication of philanthropic societies with the same or parallel aims, is a danger against which it is our duty to protect the public, and the Red Cross, being a worldwide humanitarian movement, non-political and non-sectarian, is peculiarly well fitted to lead the way towards co-operation. The reports we have heard here today show that there is an efficient team of well-qualified workers at the Red Cross headquarters, and I wish them and all workers throughout the branches every success in the coming year.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the Session of the Chamber of Princes on the 28th March 1932, said :—

Your Highnesses.—It is wholly unnecessary for me to express the great pleasure that I feel in presiding for the first time in my position as Viceroy at this the eleventh meeting of the Chamber of Princes, a pleasure which is much enhanced by the fact that I am meeting and greeting today a number of Your Highnesses whom I can claim as my close and valued friends, and by the further fact that during many years of public service in India I have always been able to take a keen and active interest in all matters connected with your Order. I have already during the past eleven months experienced the manifold advantages obtained from informal discussions with many of Your Highnesses and I welcome this new opportunity of being associated with your more formal deliberations on the many vital and important matters now engaging your attention.

Since its last sessions in March 1931 your Chamber has lost by death three of its members. Only on Saturday last I heard that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin had passed away. He succeeded to the *gaddi* in 1914 on the abdication of His Highness Raja Sir Rama Varma, whose death we also have to deplore, and he attended Your Highnesses' early Conferences in 1916 and 1919. Since then failing health had been his portion and he has taken no part in the formal meetings of the Chamber. His Highness the Maharaja of Idar in the Bombay Presidency was my old and valued friend and the news of his sudden death almost at the moment when he had come to welcome me at Bombay was a great shock to me on my arrival. As Governor of Bombay I recollect spending my first Christmas in India under his hospitable roof. A man of conservative ideas, he stood somewhat apart from the

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stream of modern progress and I am told that he had never attended the sessions of your Chamber. A Rathor Rajput—he inherited the martial traditions of his race and served the Empire in Egypt during the Great War.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who died within the last few months, had, I am informed, twice attended the sessions of your Chamber. He was a Ruler of the best type, just, high-minded and caring above all things for the progress and prosperity of his people. Since the Benares State was formed in 1911 I think it is true to say that he proved himself to be a distinguished and worthy member of Your Highnesses' Order. Both Your Highnesses and the Chamber are poorer by his loss.

I must also refer to the death of His Highness the *ex-Raja* of Bilaspur. Afflicted by ill-health he had for some years before his death abdicated his high office in favour of his son and had resided in retirement at Benares. Nor can I omit a reference to Their late Highnesses, the Senior Maharani Regent of Gwalior, and the Maharani Regent of Dhar, who have both died within the year while carrying out devotedly and successfully the task of administration in the interests of the minor Maharajas. Both ladies were distinguished by their high sense of duty and justice and have nobly vindicated the high tradition of Indian womanhood in positions of authority and responsibility. I am sure Your Highnesses will join with me in expressing sympathy with all the bereaved families and in welcoming to your Chamber those of their successors who have assumed the duties and responsibilities of the high positions to which they have been called.

At the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly held in 1931 for the first time a State Minister and not a Ruling Prince represented the Indian States. With the kind permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, K. B. Dewan Abdul Hamid was enabled to undertake this

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duty and I am informed that he carried out his onerous and responsible labours with great success and distinction. He has shown at Geneva that not only the Ruling Princes of India but their Ministers also can hold their own with the counsellors of other nations. I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish to express your appreciation of the manner in which K. B. Dewan Abdul Hamid had discharged his responsibilities on your behalf.

I notice in your Agenda that there is a proposal before Your Highnesses to alter certain of the Articles in the Constitution. I am given to understand that the system of having Substitute Members for the Standing Committee was only initiated a year ago, and there has therefore not been any long period in which to test the merits or disadvantages of the system. On general principles I should have been inclined to suggest to Your Highnesses to give the present conditions a little more time to be tested before making the changes that are proposed. I fully appreciate that your object is, of course, to secure a quorum of the Standing Committee at all times and this can doubtless be obtained by increasing the number of your members ; and it is perhaps less invidious to be a full member of the Standing Committee than to occupy the position which has hitherto been designated " Substitute Member ". On the other hand, it is a general experience that Committees can be too large, and though I am not prepared to say that nine is an excessive number, still the despatch of business tends to be more expeditious where the numbers are fewer. With these general remarks I am quite content to leave any decision on this matter to Your Highnesses who no doubt appreciate better than I can your feelings on this question.

Only one meeting of the Standing Committee of your Chamber has taken place since its last session. I need hardly say that this does not imply on the part of its

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members any neglect of your interests or failure in their responsibilities. And here I should like to make one observation of a personal character, and assure you that if there has been any delay or neglect in advancing the consideration of the many detailed points that Your Highnesses have, as I well know, so much in your minds, the fault has not in any way been due to His Highness, your Chancellor, for I can personally say that I know it for a fact that from the moment I landed at Bombay he has never been weary in well doing in these matters on Your Highnesses' behalf, and I can sincerely pay my tribute to his untiring zeal and energy in his endeavours to secure decisions on the various problems. The last year too has been so occupied by the special problems of the Round Table Conference that many of the topics now under discussion in the Standing Committee have necessarily required to be put aside temporarily. Many of them are directly affected by problems of Federation and cannot hope for final solution until these have reached a decision ; while others are not of the same urgency and importance as those connected with Federation. Most of the members of the Committee have also been in Europe as members of the Round Table Conference itself, and it has been difficult to arrange meetings for this purpose until after their return. I understand however that at the meeting held earlier in this month useful progress has been made in certain of the weighty matters that have been for some time past under discussion with my Political Department. I am informed that one of them relating to acquisition by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of non-residential property in British India has achieved the record of a tenth Summary ; it is now being placed before the Chamber and let us hope that after so many re-births it will at last earn *Nirvana* by a final settlement ! I am glad to learn also that it has been possible to meet Your Highnesses' wishes in certain matters, in which the

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exercise of railway jurisdiction by my Government within your territories had been causing you practical inconvenience.

If however the volume of work from the Standing Committee for presentation to the Chamber is smaller than the normal, I think I can claim that we have made considerable progress in two other directions, which are of great interest to Your Highnesses.

The Committee on Ceremonial appointed by the Standing Committee to examine these special matters has expended considerable time and labour in discussion both with myself and my Political Secretary, and we have on many points reached agreements which will, I hope, prove satisfactory to Your Highnesses when the time comes to present the final results to the Chamber. It has unfortunately been impossible to complete them in time for the present session, but I have every hope that they will be ready for your consideration at the next meeting of the Chamber.

I have also recently had the benefit of discussions with your Standing Committee on the very important question of Paramountcy and here too I think those who were present will agree that we have advanced a long way towards agreement in many of its aspects. I cannot now give you details, since it is obviously undesirable to discuss them at the present stage ; but I have every confidence that before the meeting of the Chamber next year we may be able to announce a clear policy in this matter, for I know well that it is a question which has greatly exercised your minds for some time. If I were to give you in very general terms my views of the main obligations under Paramountcy of the two parties concerned, I would express it in the following manner. The Viceroy as representing the Crown has the duty of maintaining to the States the absolute security of their rights and privileges which have been assured to them under their Treaties, Sanads and Engagements, and

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if necessity arises to give protection to any ruler ; while the rulers on their part have the duty of administering their States in a sound, satisfactory and progressive manner for the welfare and benefit of their subjects, which will strengthen their position under their Treaties and let us hope, render entirely unnecessary the effective protection of the Crown. Let me add that I hope and believe that the result of our deliberations will be to remove many of your anxieties and to resolve most of your difficulties, and confirm in a practical manner the assurances frequently given to you in the past of the inviolability and security of your position under your Treaties, Sanads and Engagements.

In these days when efforts are widely made to subvert law and order through this country, it is my duty to give you all possible assistance in maintaining your lawful authority and this I am determined to do. I acknowledge, gratefully the many messages that have reached me from members of your Order approving my decision to enforce law and maintain order at all costs in British India and offering any assistance that may be required. You, I am sure, recognise that the States cannot stand entirely apart from their neighbours in British India for disorder and lawlessness, if unchecked, must spread from the one to the other. Your Highnesses therefore are closely concerned with the stability of conditions beyond your borders, just as in the converse case, unsettled conditions in the States may have their repercussions in British Provinces. It cannot therefore be said that in conveying to me your sympathy and approval in the policy which I have been compelled regretfully to adopt within the last few months, you are intervening in matters that do not concern you. Moreover Your Highnesses realise as well as I do that force and repression cannot be an end in themselves, and that I have only adopted them so as to produce conditions in which we may be able to proceed

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with the details of the great constitutional changes that are impending, and under which it may be possible to introduce and work them successfully. It is in the firm belief that we shall before long be able to inaugurate a new era in the constitutional history of this great country that I am determined at all costs to secure and maintain the peaceful conditions under which alone such progress may be made. Any other path can lead only to chaos and he would indeed take a heavy responsibility who allowed India to slide into that abyss. I am grateful in the knowledge that I can count on the help of all Your Highnesses in my efforts to ensure the orderly progress of India to her appointed destiny.

As an earnest of your intentions I welcome the Resolutions in the second part of your Agenda relating to a federal scheme. Nearly two years have elapsed since in London your representatives took the momentous decision to join an all-India Federation and to co-operate with the representatives of British India in working out its details. An idea so attractive has appealed strongly to all interests concerned and the strength of their belief that it is the best solution of a most difficult problem is demonstrated by the energy and enthusiasm with which during the last eighteen months they have all laboured to remove the many difficulties lying in its path. It is a mistake to underestimate or be blind to these difficulties. Many interests are involved and of these some are conflicting, but there has, I am thankful to say, been throughout a realisation that they must not be permitted to block the path towards the ideal and that a solution for them must be found. Believe me, I sympathise keenly with your doubts and misgivings which are inevitable when changes of the magnitude and importance such as these have to be undertaken. You desire what is best for India as a whole, but each one of you is naturally concerned to see that the new conditions will not imperil your own

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existence or that of the systems of government which you believe to have still much of value to contribute to the progress of your own country. The time for consideration has doubtless appeared short when compared with the importance of the issues involved and I must congratulate Your Highnesses on being able within it to reach what I understand are agreed conclusions on most of the main points. If, as I hope, the Resolutions upon the Agenda receive the approval of your Chamber, a great step will have been made towards the settlement of the problem. There have been times when the prospect of such settlement has seemed remote and it is a source of keenest satisfaction to me that with the wise and able assistance of your Ministers you should have reached decisions not inconsistent with the early establishment of a federal system in India. I know nothing, so far, beyond the terms of the Resolutions as placed on the Agenda paper, but I shall wait with lively interest their further elucidation in the course of your discussions. I am glad that I may look forward to future meetings of this Chamber where we can take counsel together for the further progress of this great scheme. But I cannot imagine a more important or critical session than this at which it is my pleasure and privilege to preside for the first time. It is difficult to visualise the time when the Indian Princes had no common forum for discussion of questions of joint interest to them all, but events move rapidly in a modern world and what appeared to be a startling innovation of yesterday becomes the ordinary common-place of to-day. The experience of Your Highnesses in this direction in your own Chamber may, I would suggest, make you ready to face the prospect of still further constitutional changes with courage and confidence. Change must always seem doubtful to minds nurtured in a conservative tradition. But political wisdom consists in realising that new conditions require new measures and remedies and that our intellects and judgments have been

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given us to decide which path offers the more advantages and the less danger and to choose it accordingly. In ending my introductory remarks at this my first session of your Chamber, I would express the hope that you will enter upon it inspired with courage as well as caution and with an earnest desire for the common weal both of your own people and that of Greater India, of which you form a part.

INAUGURATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Legislative Council, North-West Frontier Province, at Peshawar, on the 20th April 1932 :—

20th April
1932.

His Majesty the King's message at the Ceremony of the Inauguration of the Legislative Council, North-West Frontier Province, on Wednesday, April 20th, 1932.

Recently I had great pleasure in according my sanction to the elevation of the North-West Frontier Province to the position of a Governor's Province under the Government of India Act and I rejoice that today you are celebrating the fulfilment of that decision. On peace and good government in the North-West Frontier Province depends in a great measure the security of India and I look with confidence to the people of the Province so to order their affairs that the momentous change which my Viceroy is today inaugurating on my behalf will conduce to the benefit of their Province and of India as a whole. Through my Viceroy I send to you, people of the North-West Frontier Province and to your new Government and Legislature, my warmest

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greetings and it is my earnest prayer that today's happenings may promote your lasting contentment and prosperity.

Your Excellency, Your Highness, Nawabs, Sirdars, Khans, Raikes, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to preface what I have to say this morning with a word of thanks to you all, on behalf of Lady Willingdon and myself, for the cordial reception which you have given us on this the occasion of my first official visit as Governor General to your historic capital. This is not indeed the first time that we have been here or tasted the traditional warmth of a Pathan welcome ; of that I could find much to say ; but there is business to transact this morning and I must not delay you with personal reminiscences. I will therefore pass on to more important matters, which I wish to discuss with you today.

It is now rather more than 30 years ago since recognition of the vital importance of the Frontier caused Lord Curzon's Government to take Frontier affairs under their own immediate management and control by severing from the Punjab this tract of British India which lies trans-Indus and forming it with the Hazara District into the North-West Frontier Province with a separate Administration of its own. Thirty years ago, almost to the day, Lord Curzon himself visited the Frontier to inaugurate the new scheme of things and to explain the policy of Government. As he said in the opening words of his speech, which, I suppose, some of you present here today must have heard, he "came to the Frontier to speak to the men of the Frontier", and the message which he brought for them was in substance

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the same as that which I now have for you today—not only for you, Hon'ble Members of the newly elected Provincial Legislative Council, whom I congratulate upon your election, but for all of you, who whether as electors or elected, have now begun to take your part in the working of the reformed constitution. “Your destinies”, said Lord Curzon, “are mainly in your own hands and I look to local pride and local patriotism to see that they are jealously guarded and that the North-West Frontier Province shows itself ever more and more deserving of the interest that has secured for it a separate existence and an independent name”.

Thirty years have passed and gone since those memorable words were uttered and in the interval Viceroy after Viceroy in turn has come to Peshawar and travelled through your Province not only to view the stage upon which so many great exploits have been performed in the past and across which so many of the great figures of Indian history have moved but also to testify to the abiding interest of the Government of India in your welfare and to learn for himself by personal contact something of the Pathan spirit and all that it stands for.

In those 30 years India has seen great changes. Here in this great continent with its vast population has been laid the scene of perhaps the most daring and the most momentous political experiment ever attempted by any branch of the human race—I mean the establishment of forms of representative Government and the introduction of democratic institutions with all their latent hopes and possibilities into the administrative fabric of the country. In that experiment you are now about to take your full part, and if Lord Curzon's

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message to the generation which came before you was true, as it *was* true, how much truer is it now for you, and how much truer still will it become for your descendants in the days to come when the seed which we are now planting shall have taken root and the great constitutional scheme for which we are all working shall have everywhere brought responsibility in its administration to the people of this country.

At this point I must ask you to allow me to digress for a moment from my main subject, and to speak to you with absolute frankness in regard to certain very unfortunate incidents and occurrences, I am glad to feel only in a small part of the Province, connected with the general election in which you have all been engaged during the past weeks. The purpose of our gathering here today is to celebrate the fact that after years of waiting your Province has now become a Governor's Province and has been placed on a footing of equality with the other Provinces in India. Almost everywhere you seem to have risen to the occasion and to have grasped the good gift which Government has given you. But what do I hear of Mardan and Charsadda? A shameful story of voters intimidated, of loyalists assaulted and of senseless and futile obstruction. These are strong words, Gentlemen, but I am sure you will agree with me that they are not unmerited. What possible object do those who organised the movement to which I refer or those who took part in it think that it is going to serve? They have made themselves the tools of a dangerous and subversive propaganda. They have deliberately placed themselves in opposition to the aspirations of the great majority of the people and have attempted to make impossible the fulfilment of the desire of this Province to attain the same status and rights as

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other Governors' Provinces. By their action they are impeding the restoration of normal conditions and are making impossible the withdrawal of those extraordinary powers which my Government have been compelled to assume. For there must be no misapprehension in this respect. So long as their activities continue Government must and will retain the powers which are necessary to meet them. If on the other hand they abandon their unlawful acts and co-operate in working the constitution that has today been inaugurated, I am confident that the Governor in Council will not be slow to suggest, nor the Government of India to approve, the relinquishment of powers which will then no longer be necessary. In the meantime here as elsewhere it is our fixed determination to press on with the constitutional reforms, and we shall not be deterred or delayed by these unlawful activities from achieving the purpose we all have in view, a great federation of all the various interests and communities of this country.

That federation, Gentlemen, is an object worthy of the best energies which any of us can put forward and I ask you now to do your part to realise that equality of opportunity means equality of responsibility and show yourselves declared supporters of the reformed constitution by which alone true progress on the path of orderly advance is possible.

And now I turn more particularly to address myself to you, Gentlemen, the President and Members of the Legislative Council of the North-West Frontier Province.

Perhaps I cannot do better than take as the text for what I have to say to you the instrument of instructions that is given by His Majesty the King-Emperor to

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each Governor of a Province on his appointment. The first of these instructions is that the Governor shall do all that lies in his power to maintain the standards of good administration. And if this charge finds the first place in the instrument of instructions to all other Governors, how much more necessary is it that it should do so in this Province where stands the gate of India, of which he and you are the keepers. This instruction is addressed to the Governor ; but the Governor is but one part in the machinery of the constitution, and no machine, however carefully contrived, can work to its highest efficiency, unless all its parts harmonise in the fulfilment of their separate functions. I am confident that you will always be able to count upon the guidance and support of your Governor who has during many years of close association and service amongst you always proved himself your tried and trusted friend in the promotion of all measures that may be necessary to secure those standards of good administration which he is enjoined to maintain. I am equally confident that he in his turn, can count upon that support which it is no less incumbent upon you to render.

And here I must ask you to bear with me again while I make a further digression. I am aware of the anxiety which has found expression in many quarters for the immediate repeal of those Regulations which are in force in this Province. The problem, Gentlemen, is not a simple one and demands consideration from all aspects. But the point on which criticism has chiefly been focussed is the procedure laid in a portion of that Regulation known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (though the name is something of a misnomer), for the trial of criminal cases by reference to a Council of Elders.

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This, Gentlemen, is a subject on which much might be said. But I desire at present to say no more than this. With the approval of my Government recourse to that procedure has recently, as you no doubt are already aware, been suspended by Executive order in the Districts of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan. His Excellency the Governor now informs me that with the full consent of the District Officers concerned he has decided similarly to suspend this procedure in the three remaining districts also, but as an experimental measure for a period of one year only. He and his officers are now engaged in considering in what other respects the operation of the Regulation can be modified and he hopes to be able to make a further announcement on this subject shortly. Meanwhile during that year you will have opportunity to study and discuss this question and present your conclusions to the Local Government by whom they will be carefully considered. I ask you, Gentlemen, to accept this as an earnest of the spirit by which Government and its officers in the new Province are animated and to respond to it in kind.

Your co-operation in this spirit is needed, for the times through which your Province, in common with other Provinces in India, has been passing have been times of no ordinary difficulty and the task that confronts you is no easy one. You have seen around you the stirrings of discontent and the distress of poverty-symptoms of the unsettled conditions that are today almost worldwide in their character. Your most earnest and pressing desire must be to alleviate them, and many of you have thought that in this change from the old order to the new is to be found the heaven-sent remedy. "Where there is a will, there is a way", is a common saying, and I believe that honesty and sincerity

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of ideal can do more than anything to clear the paths you seek to follow. But this or that political institution is not an end in itself : it is merely the means to an end, and that end must be the contentment and prosperity of those whose welfare it has been designed to serve and whose chosen representatives you are. It is your duty therefore, as it is the duty enjoined upon your Governor, to maintain the high standards of good administration and to encourage co-operation and good-will among all classes. The essence of the modern system of representative Government is not the arbitrary enforcement of the will of the majority. Let me again quote from the instrument of instructions to your Governor. He is enjoined to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes committed to his charge, who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages or from any other causes, are specially in need of protection, and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action, and that such classes shall not suffer, or have cause to fear, neglect or oppression. He is further enjoined to see that no act of his Legislative Council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of or arising from race, religion, education, social conditions, wealth or any other circumstance, may receive unfair advantage or say unfairly be deprived of privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed, or be excluded from the enjoyment of benefits which may hereafter be conferred upon the people at large.

Were it enacted that each Member of this Legislative Council should also receive upon election some such instrument or manual of instructions as that which is issued for the guidance of your Governor, I

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can conceive of nothing that could better epitomise his duties and responsibilities. Each of you has, it is true, been elected by the majority of the voters of your constituencies, but is not to that majority alone that you owe your sole and entire duty. You have a duty to all, to those who, whether from lack of educational or material advantages or from any other causes, specially need your protection or to those who cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon united action. All this is implied in the admonishment to maintain standards of good administration and of co-operation and good-will among all classes and creeds.

And now you take up your task in earnest. As I have said, that task will be no easy one. But today we look not to the past but to the future, and I am optimistic enough to believe that I see the hand of the political barometer once again moving steadily towards "Set Fair". From this optimism I am not diverted by what has happened in the two areas to which I have alluded. Elsewhere throughout the Province your response has been very different. It has manifested itself in the keenness with which your elections have been fought, and has shown that you are determined to have no further part or lot with those whose misguided patriotism has sought to lead them along paths that are alien to the traditional and oft-proved loyalty of the Pathan race. Your pride of race and your confidence in your capacity to guide your own affairs are qualities in which I see the happiest augury for your future. But you must not deceive yourselves into thinking that the battle has been won and that all will now be plain-sailing. There must be peace within your borders and the forces of disorder must be held in check. The reforms which you have now been granted are, as you

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know, but the first instalment of the further measure of Reforms in which you are to share equally with the rest of India. Your novitiate in the art of self-Government will therefore be short, but you must see to it that it is thorough. Your feeling will, I know, be that there is much to do and but little time in which to do it. That is but natural ; but it is for this reason all the more necessary that you should beware of being tempted into hasty or precipitate courses. "Hasten slowly" must therefore be your guiding principle, remembering that upon the security of the foundations which you are now to lay will depend the strength and safety of the structure which is shortly to be built upon them.

I now commend you to the task that lies before you. In the discharge of it you will have the best wishes of myself and of my Government, and of the peoples of all Provinces of India. It shall be our pride and interest to watch your progress and see you justify the position of responsibility to which your Province has now attained.

INSTALLATION OF HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF
KALAT.

26th April 1932. His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the installation of His Highness the Khan of Kalat at Quetta on 26th April 1932 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure to me to be present here today and to have this opportunity of making first-hand acquaintance with the Province and peoples of Baluchistan. I wish to assure Your Highness, and you, Sardars and Darbaris, that my presence is an earnest of the sincere interest which I take in all your affairs. The occasion on which

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we meet is one which may fairly be described as unique in the annals of Baluchistan. It is the first time that a Viceroy has arrived at Quetta by air and it is also the first time that a Viceroy has installed a Khan of Kalat.

The late Khan, His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., ruled the State for no less than thirty-eight years, and earned the gratitude of the British Government by his many loyal services, particularly during the Great War. It had been a matter of regret that for some years prior to his death failing health and sight made him somewhat inaccessible to his subjects and prevented him from taking an active part in the administration of the State.

In electing Your Highness to be Wali of Kalat and Khan of Brahui Confederacy the Sardars have made, I am convinced, a wise choice. Your Highness is, if I may say so, a man of ripe age and long experience of men and affairs, and you have gained the respect and affection of the people of Baluchistan by your services to them and to the British Government and by the part you have played in the public life of the Province during the past forty years.

The Kalat State in its political shape and organisation differs radically from all the other States of the Indian Empire. It is a Confederacy of nomad tribes, akin rather to the Khanates of Central Asia and the emirates of Arabia than to the compact principalities of India. The British Government have from the outset acknowledged the peculiar constitution of the Kalat State and have endeavoured to preserve its ancient tribal organisation and the Customary law which holds sway and binds it together. It is therefore a matter of sincere satisfaction that Your Highness' succession was unanimously approved by the Baluch Sardars as well as those of the Brahui Confederacy in a constitutional manner and in accordance with ancient custom. The

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recent enlargement of the Council of State indicates that Kalat is moving with the times and sharing in the general advance of the Asiatic peoples from autocratic to constitutional Government. In this enlarged Council Your Highness has an instrument ready to hand which will enable you to secure the best advice on affairs of State and maintain close touch with your subjects, an instrument of which I counsel you to take the fullest advantage. The finances of your State have long since been properly organised with a regular budget and a Civil List. The administration of the Niabat lands is carried on by your Wazir-i-Azam assisted by competent officials. It may, therefore, be truly said that the Kalat State is keeping pace with modern ideas in its administrative organisation and I have no doubt that Your Highness will ever strive to promote its advancement along the path of peaceful progress. You have indeed succeeded to a position of great trust and authority, and I am confident that it will be your constant care to administer your State with a single eye to the welfare of your subjects, and while preserving all that is best in the traditional forms of its administration to do away with anything that savours of tyranny. From the reports which I have received I feel assured that you will fully discharge this trust with justice and good-will to all your subjects and with honour to yourself.

The State of Kalat covers a wide extent of territory and by itself far exceeds in area all the other component elements which go to make up Baluchistan. So the well-being of Baluchistan as a whole in large measure depends upon the Kalat State. If that State is weakened by internal dissensions or disorganised by misrule or oppression, wide-spread repercussions on the rest of Baluchistan are bound to result and no man can tell where the mischief will end. Your Highness' responsibility and the responsibility of your State Council are therefore very great.

Address of Welcome from the leading Sardars of Baluchistan.

I would remind Your Highness that the peculiar strength of your position lies in the fact that you are not only Wali of Kalat State, but the leader of an ancient and powerful Confederacy, and it therefore behoves you to work in harmony and co-operation with your Sardars, to respect their rights, uphold their dignity and conserve everything that is right and proper in their traditional customs. In return it is the bounden duty of the Sardars to bear true allegiance to you as their Khan and to respect your dignity and rights even as Your Highness will respect theirs. A Frontier State has its peculiar problems and difficulties, and every ruler must expect to face times of trouble and anxiety. If unhappily such times should come, Your Highness may always count on the advice and assistance of my officers, while you may rest assured that I myself will always maintain a watchful and unflinching interest in the affairs of your State.

In conclusion it is my privilege to offer Your Highness my congratulations on being installed in the seat of your ancestors. I tender you my most sincere good wishes for your long life, health and prosperity and for the peace and contentment of the Kalat State under your rule. I now declare Your Highness to be duly installed as Wali of Kalat.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE LEADING SARDARS
OF BALUCHISTAN.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the leading Sardars of Baluchistan at Quetta on the 26th April 1932.
1932.

Sardars,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to receive this deputation of the leading Sardars of the British and Agency Districts of Baluchistan. First of all let me thank you for your cordial welcome to Her Excellency and myself and for the loyal sentiments you have expressed at the beginning of your address. It is

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indeed a long journey to Baluchistan but, though the distance remains the same, modern methods of travel have shortened the time and lessened the fatigue of undertaking it. Her Excellency and I feel that we are more than repaid for the length of the journey by making acquaintance with what to us is a new and most interesting part of the Indian Empire and by seeing the gardens and orchards of Quetta in all the beauty of their spring foliage.

Although it is not news to me it is a great gratification to hear from your own lips that in the recent times of political unrest Baluchistan has been happy and peaceful, that your loyalty to the British Crown is as strong as ever and that you have no other desire but to work out your salvation under the aegis of the British flag. You do indeed already enjoy a large measure of self-Government in your tribal and jirga system. But while you express yourselves as satisfied with the present form of administration you have not hesitated to give utterance to some of your grievances and to your aspirations and hopes for removing them. I make no complaint of this. Legitimate discontent is indeed a healthy sign and proves that you have a growing consciousness of your needs and a keen desire for the betterment of your lot. You have said that you are behind-hand in education and you ascribe this not so much to your own apathy and indifference as to an unsuitable educational system. I am afraid that I cannot quite agree with this. It is, I fear, only too true that, in the past at any rate, the tribesmen have taken hardly any interest in education and have been very slow to avail themselves of the facilities placed at their disposal by Government. This is the chief reason why you have so much lee-way to make up in Government service and other directions. I am gratified to learn that there is now some awakening in this respect amongst you, the tribal leaders, and I trust that you will endeavour to instil in your tribesmen the idea that

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industry and application are essential to success not only in Government service and in business but also in agriculture. Mr. Cater informs me that whenever he visits a school he makes it his first care to enquire after, and speak words of encouragement to, the local boys but it is his universal experience that they form a very small percentage of the scholars. Government has done and is doing its best to encourage local boys by the extension of primary education and by the grant of scholarships all of which, I am informed, are reserved for your boys except the open and special scholarships given for college education in other parts of India. These are awarded by competitive examination and a number of them are won by local boys. I will, however, ask Mr. Cater to examine further the question of the provision of educational facilities for tribesmen in rural areas and to ascertain whether it would be possible to effect an improvement by a redistribution of the existing schools or by other means. The opening of an Intermediate College has for some time past received the sympathetic consideration of my Government and the approval of the Senate of the Punjab University has just been received to the affiliation of the proposed College in Arts and Faculty. A detailed scheme will now be prepared by the Local Administration and will, I hope, come into effect without undue delay but its final sanction must depend upon financial conditions.

You have mentioned the small share which you enjoy in Government service and Government contracts. As regards Government service, it has always been the policy of the Civil Administration to encourage the recruitment of local men. Admission to the Administrative Services is not competitive and the standards of admission have been fixed low in order to facilitate the entry of local youths who possess a modicum of education. With due regard for efficiency it is not possible to lower

Address of Welcome from the leading Sardars of Baluchistan.

the standards further and it would be manifestly unjust to promote officials, simply for the reason that they are local men, over the heads of non-locals who have worked loyally and well. With reference to the other services you have mentioned, I must remind you that these are, in the main, highly technical and that in such services the single standard governing recruitment and advancement is, and must be, professional qualifications and skill. Until you can acquire these, it is impossible to give preference to you over better qualified men. Much the same principles apply to the distribution of Government contracts. For contracts requiring a high degree of technical and administrative knowledge it is absolutely essential that the Engineer who is responsible for the performance of the contract should give it only to those persons who satisfy him that they possess the necessary financial stability and technical knowledge and that they are fully capable of carrying out the work. In unskilled and semi-skilled work, however, in which the local man can easily compete I am informed that preference is always given to him in respect of such contracts provided that he tenders at a satisfactory rate. This is a policy which commends itself to me and it is my desire that it should always be borne in mind. I observe that you ask for the establishment of a technical High School to enable your young men to earn a livelihood in industrial avocations. This is a laudable ambition on your part and one deserving of every encouragement. I will ask Mr. Cater to bear this request in mind and consider ways and means of bringing it to fulfilment.

Let me thank you once again for the warmth of your welcome. If I have not been able to reply to your requests in a manner which fully satisfies your aspirations let me assure you that it is not for any lack of sympathy and good-will but simply because I should be failing in my duty if I did not point out the practical difficulties which lie in the way of immediate realisation of your hopes.

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Committee of Quetta.

Before I conclude, however, I must add that it was a matter of particular gratification to me to listen to the most appreciative remarks you made with regard to the Services which are being rendered to the people of Baluchistan by my Agent, Mr. Cater, and I am indeed happy to think that you and he have established such feelings of mutual trust and good-will as augur well for the future development of your Province. I can assure you that I shall not miss the opportunity, afforded by my visit, of personal discussions with Mr. Cater of the many problems which confront you, and, knowing as I do, that he shares your complete confidence, I shall give every sympathy to such representations as he may make to me on your behalf. I beg you not to be discouraged by the difficulties you have placed before me and if you yourselves will play your part, you may rely upon the assistance and support of Government in conquering them. The future lies mainly in your own hands. If you will persevere in your determination to acquire the knowledge and education which are essential to success in a world which is daily becoming more complex and more competitive, in which the struggle for livelihood is becoming ever more acute, I feel sure that before long a new era of hope and prosperity will dawn for the inhabitants of Baluchistan.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL
COMMITTEE OF QUETTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome ^{26th April} from the Municipal Committee of Quetta to which he replied in ^{1932.} the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—You have expressed your gratitude to me for visiting your Province, but I think the thanks are rather due from us to you for your kindness in meeting us with such warm words of welcome ; both Lady

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Committee of Quetta.

Willingdon and I are most grateful for the cordial greeting you have extended. The arduous duties that have been pressing upon me continuously since I came back to India have left little opportunity for planning such a pleasant visit as this, and I can assure you we have been looking forward to it with great pleasure.

I have listened to the account of your activities with much interest, and I am delighted to hear of the harmonious relations existing between the different communities in Quetta town and of the spirit of co-operation in which they are working together in the public interest. This absence of communal feeling and individual predilections is, I am sure, the essence of the success that has attended the work of your Committee. Your duties of administration have been complicated by the rapid growth of your charge in recent years and contemporaneously you have had to contend with the inevitable result of the world-wide economic depression which must have rendered your task all the more intricate. In developing your resources to meet the demands of an increasing population and of a higher standard of public service, I am convinced you could not have adopted a wiser policy than that outlined in your address, namely, a careful overhaul of Municipal machinery against the return of better times and prudent advance such as will not outstrip the financial resources available. Municipal administration is often considered a thankless task, but I hope this is not the case here for your efforts certainly merit the gratitude of the citizens of Quetta who have benefited by the numerous schemes you have carried through for their well-being.

Towards the end of your address you have mentioned the pride which you rightly take in the courageous conduct displayed by the public of Quetta during the disastrous earthquake that struck Baluchistan about six months ago. The absence of panic and disorder at such

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a trying time is proof of the splendid spirit of your people and is worthy of the highest traditions of your Province. I wish to congratulate all concerned on their remarkable tenacity and resource in restoring normal conditions so rapidly.

Gentlemen, in conclusion I must thank you for your sincere assurance of unswerving loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, which I shall not fail to transmit. And let me thank you again, on behalf of Lady Willingdon as well as myself, most heartily for the warm reception you have given us. We leave you confident that success will continue to attend all your labours, for you have manifested those qualities which fit a people to take part in the general administration of the country and herein lies a happy augury for the future prosperity not only of Quetta but of the whole of Baluchistan.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy drove in State and delivered the following Address at the opening of the Autumn Session of the Legislative Assembly on the 5th September 1932 :—

Gentlemen,—It is my privilege to extend once again a welcome to Hon'ble Members who are about to enter upon the labours of another Simla session. Many questions of importance will come before you and I trust that the results of your deliberations may prosper the best interests of India and the Empire.

I think I can truly say that since I arrived in this country some eighteen months ago to take over my important duties and responsibilities, we have passed through a period of almost unexampled difficulty both from an economic and administrative point of view, but at the same time, in close co-operation with His Majesty's Government, we have been constantly working and

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moving steadily forward towards the goal of Responsible Government.

Today it is my duty, as Head of the Government of India, to give Hon'ble Members an account of our stewardship during the past few months, and also some words of cautious encouragement and hope with regard to the outlook for the future.

Relations with Foreign States situated on the frontiers of India continue to be of a cordial character, and I am glad to be able to inform you that the situation on the North-West Frontier has also caused my Government very little anxiety.

As I mentioned on the last occasion, upon which I addressed you, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been steadily pursuing its useful work in matters agricultural. No doubt, its activities have been affected to some extent by the prevalent financial stringency which reluctantly compelled the Government to suspend, for the year 1932-33, its annual grant of rupees five lakhs to the Council for research work. I would, however, like to assure Hon'ble Members that this purely temporary suspension of the grant does not in any way mean that the Government of India have changed their previous opinion in regard to the importance of agricultural research in this country. We are fully alive to the overwhelming importance of agriculture to this country in general and to the fact that the need for a central institution to co-ordinate and direct research remains as great as ever. We hope that it will be possible before long to restore the grant in question.

It is gratifying indeed to note that Indian States are one by one coming forward to become constituent members of the Imperial Council. The notable example of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad was

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followed by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in 1931, and only recently the Government of India have agreed to the proposal of the Government of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda to join the Council.

Hon'ble Members will remember that, as a result of the recommendations of the Sugar Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and of the Tariff Board's enquiry that followed, the Sugar Industry Protection Act was passed in April last; the impetus which this protection has given to the industry may be gauged from the fact that about 24 sugar factories have been or are about to be set up in Northern India in the current year and more are expected to follow. There is considerable scope for the expansion and development of the sugar industry in this country both on the agricultural and the manufacturing side. My Government fully realise the value of research in this connection, and it is their declared intention to assist this development by provision of funds to the Imperial Council for sugar research.

Hon'ble Members will recollect that in September last and again in February of this year I referred to the adverse economic conditions which afflict the Indian agriculturist. Since then there has been some improvement in the situation, but the position is still abnormal. Agricultural prices continue low, and such increase as has occurred leaves the level much lower than that to which the agriculturist has been accustomed in recent years. There is dearth of money and slackness of trade. Only a world revival can give the requisite stimulus to a substantial improvement in this country. Meanwhile, Local Governments are making strenuous efforts to provide such relief as lies in their power. They have had full resort, wherever necessary, to suspension and remission of land revenue and to reduction of rent; they have made liberal advances of agricultural loans. Some of them are also contemplating or exploring the possibilities of

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adopting special measures. The Government of the United Provinces, for example, have recently set up an Agricultural Debt Committee. The Government of the Central Provinces propose shortly to introduce in the local Legislative Council a Bill to set up Conciliation Boards for reducing the burden of agricultural debts in that Province. I earnestly trust that the measures taken or planned will afford the agriculturist the needed relief in these difficult times.

The prospects of the present harvest are generally, I am glad to say, good ; the monsoon is up to the present favourable and, except in a few parts of the country, the condition of the crops is satisfactory. There is also some evidence that a revival of prices has begun.

During the last Delhi session my Government introduced in the Legislative Assembly three Bills relating to the Haj which are based on the recommendations of the Haj Enquiry Committee. The first of the Bills provides for the amendment of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, with a view to improving conditions on board the ships engaged in the pilgrim traffic, safeguarding the health of pilgrims and minimising the risk of their becoming destitute in the Hedjaz ; the second aims at the establishment of Haj Committees at the principal pilgrim ports to assist pilgrims proceeding to or returning from the Hedjaz ; and the third is designed to regulate the activities of professional pilgrim guides in British India and to protect pilgrims from fraud and exploitation. The Bills came before Select Committees in May and June. The Select Committee's Report on the second Bill will, I hope, be presented to the House this session. The other Bills evoked some public criticisms which have necessitated further enquiry. Until those investigations are complete and the Select Committees

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have reported, the Bills must, for the present, remain in suspense.

Hon'ble Members will remember that, when we last met, there were already signs that India's credit was improving. I am glad to say that since then the improvement has been much more marked. Since April we have floated three loans—one in sterling and two in rupees—of the total amount of 58 crores, the last of which, as you are aware, was over-subscribed in about four hours, though it gave a return of only $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. as compared with $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the loan issued about this time last year. We have also been able to reduce our floating debt in the form of Treasury Bills from $84\frac{1}{2}$ crores at the end of August 1931 to $24\frac{1}{2}$ crores at the end of this August and to reduce the price we pay for our accommodation from about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rise in the price of our sterling securities has been even more remarkable. Our $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. India Stock, which is our standard loan, has appreciated by practically 50 per cent. in the last twelve months. This improvement in our credit is, of course, largely due to the measures taken by the National Government in England, culminating in the largest and most successful financial operation of all time—the conversion of two thousand million pounds of War Loan from a 5 per cent. to a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis. That naturally had the effect of reducing the price of money here; but it would have been unavailing but for the increased confidence of investors—both in England and in India—in the future of this country, a confidence which I fully share.

I wish I could give you as cheerful an account of our immediate financial position. But here we cannot expect any remarkable improvement until world prices improve; and, though there have been encouraging signs in the past few weeks of a rise in the price of our more important staples, such as cotton, jute and wheat, it is

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too early to say that the tide has turned. It is, of course, much too early to prophesy how the budget will turn out, but it is clear that we cannot contemplate any relaxation of that stern policy of rigorous economy in public expenditure which my Government outlined twelve months ago.

The financial position of our railways continues to cause concern. We had not been over-optimistic in our estimates, as we had allowed for no additional traffic as compared with last year, though we expected a crore more in receipts owing to the increased rates and fares that were introduced at various times during 1931-32. But the receipts of the first quarter of the current financial year cast some serious doubt upon even these moderate hopes being realised. We were over a crore, or 5 per cent. down in the first quarter, as compared with last year which was itself a disastrous year, and though the expenditure has been reduced by nearly three quarters of a crore, our net receipts are still nearly half a crore worse than last year. In this, of course, we are only sharing, if that is any consolation, in the misfortunes common to railways all over the world. In the first half of the calendar year, for instance, the four important British railways show a decrease of over $6\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds, or nearly 9 per cent. of the earnings last year. Against the decrease of over a crore in our gross receipts we have to set a reduction of working expenses mainly due to the cut in pay, but our net traffic receipts are still about 40 lakhs worse than during last year.

In spite of the most drastic economies last year and further economies this year, the morale and efficiency of the armed forces remain at a very high standard; and they continue in a state of readiness to meet every call upon them. Unfortunately such calls have not been lacking—not only on the Frontier, but also at places

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nearer home. The deplorable disturbances in Bombay are a case in point : and, as Hon'ble Members know, my Government have recently decided, in consultation with the Government of Bengal, to send a comparatively large force to that Presidency, in the endeavour to put heart into the servants of Government in the very anxious times through which they are passing ; to encourage the loyal elements in the population ; and to demonstrate unmistakably to others the material powers of the Government. I am confident that the steps taken will be welcomed by all right-minded persons ; but the point that I now particularly wish to make is that measures of this kind cost considerable sums of money ; and although I am aware of the continuing demands for the reduction of expenditure on the Army, there is clearly a limit below which such reductions cannot safely be made. As matters stand, that limit is rapidly approaching, if it has not already been reached. I think it is well that we should remember that within the comparatively short period of twelve years the Army budget has been reduced by about seventeen crores of rupees.

It is with great satisfaction that I am able to announce that the Government of India are on the eve of opening their own Military Academy for the training of officers for Army service. The first examination attracted a large number of candidates ; and I trust that full advantage will be taken of the facilities now provided to build up a cadre of officers for the future Army in India who will worthily carry on the traditions of the past.

The first batch of Indian cadets have also been commissioned in the Indian Air Force and thus another important beginning has been made.

Let me now turn for a few moments to inter-imperial relations.

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An event of great importance to which I must allude is the signature at Ottawa last month of a tariff agreement between India and Great Britain. The circumstances in which my Government decided to accept the invitation of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are, I have no doubt, fresh in our minds. In the entirely new circumstances created by the departure of His Majesty's Government from their old policy of universal free trade and by the substitution for it of a tariff coupled with the grant of preference to countries within the Empire, my Government were invited to send a Delegation to the Imperial Conference, primarily to consider and discuss with representatives of the United Kingdom the question whether it would be in the best interests of both countries to enter into a tariff agreement involving the reciprocal grant of preferences to each other's products. To such an invitation there could surely be only one reply, and in accepting it we made it clear, as you are aware, that no changes in our tariff would be made in pursuance of any agreement that might be reached at Ottawa unless the Legislature were satisfied that such measures were in the interests of India. In the deliberations and discussions which took place, first in London and subsequently at Ottawa, the Indian Delegation to the Conference were given by my Government the freest possible hand, and the agreement recently concluded by Sir Atul Chatterjee and his colleagues embodies only such measures as they, with the fullest possible knowledge of the facts, are confidently able to recommend for acceptance as likely to conduce to the best interests of this country. Into the details of the agreement it would be out of place for me to enter. Hon'ble Members will have observed that, as regards preferences to be given by India to the United Kingdom, the terms of the agreement recently announced state only the measure of such preference and leave open for decision the manner in which the various duties are

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to be adjusted. It will be the duty of my Government to place before you specific proposals regarding the manner in which effect may, in our judgment, best be given to the agreement and the earliest suitable opportunity will be taken to invite your acceptance of those proposals. I need hardly remind Hon'ble Members that they will have the benefit, during their deliberations, of the presence of two members of the Delegation itself. There is, however, one feature of the agreement to which I wish to direct very special attention. We felt that, on the eve of great constitutional changes, it would not be right to ask you to accept an agreement which would bind India for a long period ahead, and it is primarily with this consideration in view that the agreement is so expressed as to be terminable at six months' notice by either party to it.

I am sure Hon'ble Members would wish to join me in an expression of very cordial thanks to Sir Atul Chatterjee and all his colleagues for the admirable manner in which they carried through their negotiations and fulfilled their very responsible tasks.

I turn now to the political situation and the matter that I must refer to first must be the civil disobedience movement. It is well to remind ourselves how this movement came into being, for political memories are short, and the public mind tends naturally to concentrate on events as they pass before it day by day rather than to reflect on the causes that have set them in motion. It is, therefore, worth while to recall that at a time when Mr. Gandhi with the other representatives of India was sitting in Conference with representatives of the British Parliament, engaged in a joint endeavour to find the greatest measure of agreement as a basis for the new constitution, some of his professed followers in India were actively engaged in organising intensive and

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dangerous movements directed against the stability of Government. In two Provinces these preparations had been carried to a point at which orderly government was seriously menaced. In the United Provinces a movement had been launched against the payment of rent and land revenue at a time when the rural population were feeling acutely the strain of unprecedented economic conditions. The consequences of allowing such a movement to spread, a movement which would have undermined the economic foundations of society and respect for law among a vast agricultural population, would have been incalculable. In the North-West Frontier Province an agitation, frankly revolutionary and even more dangerous to the security of the whole of India, had been developed, by means of a large body of volunteers organised in semi-military fashion, to a point at which further toleration was impossible.

The action which my Government was eventually forced to take in order to counter these two aggressive and dangerous movements was met by the Congress by a renewal of civil disobedience throughout the country. When I last addressed Hon'ble Members on the 25th of January, these events were fresh in our memories and the outcome of them was still uncertain, but I said at that time that there could be no compromise in this matter, and that I and my Government were determined to use to the full the resources of the State in fighting and defeating a movement which would otherwise remain a perpetual menace to orderly government and individual liberty, and I added that there could be no relaxation of the measures in force against civil disobedience so long as the circumstances exist which make them necessary. That has been our policy during the last eight months, and I wish to make it perfectly clear that it is and will continue to be our policy.

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It is a policy that has met with a remarkable degree of success. The no-rent campaign in the United Provinces has died away and the red-shirt movement in the North-West Frontier Province was rapidly brought under control. Over the greater part of India the mass of the population is no longer concerned with civil disobedience, and so far as they reflect on the matter at all, there is a feeling of relief that measures have been taken which have restored a sense of security and peace. During the first two months of the movement the number of convictions was large, amounting to over 32,000. Since then the convictions have been steadily decreasing, and many have been released either on completion of their sentences or on giving assurances for their future behaviour. The number of those in jail is diminishing with some rapidity. The largest number in jail at any one time was at the end of April when it amounted to nearly 32,500. The number at the end of July stood at about 24,000, and this represented a reduction during that month of some 5,000.

I do not wish to suggest for a moment that the civil disobedience movement is finished or that it does not still remain a very definite menace, against which we cannot afford to relax our precautions. The Congress is an extensive organisation which commands, even outside its own ranks, a certain degree of sympathy among many of the educated classes. It is still pledged to the policy of civil disobedience, and is doing what it can to maintain the struggle. It would be rash to prophesy how long it will be before the Congress leaders realise, or at any rate bring themselves to acknowledge openly, that they have failed. But to us it is, by this time, abundantly clear that the movement cannot succeed so long as Government maintains its existing policy.

This brings me to a consideration of the measures it has been necessary to take to secure these results. As

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soon as the Congress declared its intention to renew civil disobedience, I deemed it essential, in full agreement with my Government, to take certain wide powers by means of a series of Ordinances. These Ordinances expired after six months, and as the period for their expiry approached, it became evident that we were in no position to discard the weapons with which civil disobedience was being fought. Accordingly, at the end of June, I issued a new consolidated Ordinance. At the same time, special care was taken that these powers should not be extended to areas in which the conditions did not essentially demand them. The consolidated Ordinance will expire at the end of the year. My Government have been considering, with great care, what action will be necessary on the expiry of the Ordinance. We have decided that the general law should be strengthened by the inclusion of a considerable number of the provisions of the Ordinance. We regard this measure as essential, not only for the purpose of bringing to an end the present civil disobedience movement, but as an insurance against the revival of any similar activities in the future. In addition to the proposals which my Government will lay before you for a strengthening of the general law by Central legislation, it will be necessary for the Governments of those Provinces in which the civil disobedience movement has proved a special menace, to introduce Provincial legislation, which will reproduce other provisions of the Ordinance which local conditions appear to demand. We should be failing in our duty if we did not ensure, to the best of our ability, that this movement is brought to an end and that there should be no chance of reviving it.

It is no satisfaction to my Government to be forced to propose these measures for the strengthening of the law, but we are faced with ideas and methods to which we must offer the most resolute opposition. The leaders

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of the Congress believe in what is generally known as direct action, which is an example of the application of the philosophy of force to the problems of politics. It is the antithesis of what we understand by constitutional self-government, which is the policy His Majesty's Government is endeavouring to pursue in regard to India. The fundamental idea of His Majesty's Government, as explained by the Prime Minister at the end of the Round Table Conference, is that to the greatest degree possible responsibility should be placed on the Legislatures, in other words that government should be based on argument and reason and on the wishes of the people as constitutionally expressed. I do not think I do the Congress an injustice when I say that their policy and their methods are directed to securing their objects not by persuasion but by coercion. The Government on the one hand, the mass of the people on the other, are to be forced and intimidated into doing what the Congress consider is right. The fact that the force applied is as a rule not physical force, in no way alters the essential characteristic of the attitude which at the present moment inspires the Congress policy. Their aim is to impose their will on those who do not agree with them. The events in Bombay City have provided the most striking example of these aims and these methods, and have resulted in an interference with the course of trade and the liberty of individuals to manage their own affairs and pursue their normal business, which is proving disastrous to the prosperity of the community, and which Government are bound to do all in their power to resist.

Another and more sinister manifestation of this philosophy of force confronts us in Bengal. Here too, we find those who are determined to impose their will on the community, but the method they have adopted is that of physical terrorism by means of assassination and other crimes of violence. The catalogue of these outrages grows

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steadily longer. I need hardly remind you of the recent murders of three devoted public servants, Mr. Douglas, the District Magistrate of Midnapur, Mr. K. P. Sen, Special Magistrate, Dacca, and Mr. Ellison, Additional Superintendent of Police of Dacca, and the determined attempts, providentially unsuccessful, on the lives of Sir Alfred Watson, the Editor of the *Statesman*, and Mr. Grassby, Superintendent of Police, Dacca. Apart from these and other outrages of a similar kind, a large number of dacoities are taking place, some of them accompanied by murder, which are carried out in pursuance of this movement. The movement is at present directed primarily against the officers of Government and those who support it. But if it were to succeed, those who achieved power by this means would exercise it ruthlessly against all who opposed them. There would be an end to all aspirations for an orderly system of self-government. The leaders of the terrorists would be in a position to establish a tyranny supported by methods utterly repugnant to civilised feeling, and it is a commonplace of experience that methods often persist long after the objects they were primarily designed to secure have been lost sight of. I would, therefore, urge all law-abiding citizens most strongly not to let any feeling of sentimental sympathy with mistaken ideas of patriotism blind them to the terrible dangers that this movement holds for them all and for the future of their country. The Government is determined to use all its efforts to counter this movement, and in this they can reasonably ask for the active support of all those who have their country's interests at heart. The Bengal Government are at the present time asking their Legislature for special powers to deal with the movement, and it will be necessary for my Government to lay before you shortly a complementary Bill which will be necessitated by the passage of the local legislation.

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Let me take this opportunity to review the progress of constitutional work since I addressed Hon'ble Members last January.

The second Round Table Conference left certain problems for specific investigation : the franchise, federal finance, and certain claims of the States. His Majesty's Government entrusted these investigations to three Committees : the Franchise Committee of which the Marquis of Lothian was the Chairman ; the Federal Finance Committee presided over by Lord Eustace Percy ; and the States Enquiry Committee presided over by the Right Hon'ble J. C. C. Davidson. The field of their enquiries was wide. The problems referred for their consideration were complicated and difficult. All three Committees set about their several tasks with an earnestness of purpose which compelled our admiration. The Report of the Federal Finance Committee was published in May and of the Franchise Committee in June. The Committee over which Mr. Davidson presided visited a large number of States involving extensive travel and had in addition to deal with a great mass of historical and statistical material. In consequence its Report was published only in July after the Committee's return to England.

I do not propose to deal with the contents of these documents with which you are no doubt yourself familiar. The problems discussed are of the greatest importance in the task of building up the all-India Federation which it is our object to attain. I am aware that many of the issues raised are in a high degree controversial. But we can all agree that the recommendations of these three Committees are a contribution of the utmost value. They have helped us to understand the breadth and depth of some of the difficult issues which confront us, and they have indicated the direc-

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tions in which solutions may be found. I feel confident that I am truly expressing opinion widely felt throughout the country when I say that we are under a great debt of gratitude to those who at considerable sacrifice of their personal convenience served on these Committees, and have given us of their best in the three valuable Reports I have mentioned.

While these Committees were pursuing their enquiries, no time was lost on the official side with the preparatory arrangements to bring the North-West Frontier to the level of a Governor's Province. I went to Peshawar myself last April in order to inaugurate the new Legislative Council and to deliver to the people of the Frontier the gracious message addressed to them by His Majesty the King-Emperor on entering upon their new status. In my long experience of official life I can recall few occasions which have given me greater pleasure than that historic day when I assisted in the fulfilment of the most cherished wish of the Frontier people that their Province should stand on an equality with other Provinces. I claim that the advance made has been justified by the results, and I draw therefrom a moral that is not confined to the Frontier alone. In place of dissatisfaction we have contentment, and the course is set fair for orderly and harmonious progress. We watched with interest the proceedings of the first session of the new Legislative Council marked as they were by dignity and good sense. I take this opportunity to assure the people of the Frontier today of my personal faith that they will not fail when at the next stage of reforms now rapidly approaching they are asked to take still greater responsibilities upon their shoulders.

But I have not yet come to an end of the many other constitutional activities of the last few months. At the end of May there was published the Report of

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the Orissa Committee which investigated the implications of setting up a separate Orissa Province. In June we received the Chairman's Report of the Sind Conference convened for the purpose of trying to overcome the financial difficulties disclosed by the expert enquiry made last year.

This autumn a general election will be held in Burma at which the question whether that Province should be separated will be referred to the Burmese electorate. In the meantime we have been further examining the financial aspects of separation with a view to stating the case for reference to a tribunal commanding general confidence in India and in Burma. Before this reference is made, my Government propose to place papers before you and obtain your advice.

My own Committee, the Consultative Committee over which I personally presided, was able to get through a considerable amount of valuable work in Delhi, but we found our discussions of the major issues continually impeded by the communal difficulty, and I would say with all sincerity that it was a great disappointment to me personally that a Committee, from which so much was hoped, was unfortunately hampered by circumstances outside its immediate control.

Within the last month, His Majesty's Government have announced their decision regarding the representation of the various communities in the Provincial Legislatures under the new constitution. It was with great reluctance that they consented to make these decisions, for they have repeatedly expressed their conviction that the only really satisfactory settlement of this problem would be one devised and accepted by the communities themselves. But when the communities had completely failed to arrive at any agreement, and the whole plan for a new constitution in India was in danger of being

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brought to a stop by the failure to reach conclusions, His Majesty's Government consented to give their Award. That Award has been given with a sincere desire to hold the scales equal between the various communities. It is natural that the communities, whose refusal to abate their own demands had resulted in a deadlock, should not be fully satisfied regarding the Award of His Majesty's Government. But I would ask Hon'ble Members to remember that there are only three possible courses to follow in this matter. The first is to accept the Award of His Majesty's Government, and on that basis to continue as rapidly as possible with the work of framing the new constitution. The second is, even at this late hour, to devise a settlement other than that framed by His Majesty's Government, to which the various communities concerned will give their willing assent. The third is to abandon all hope of constitutional advance. This third course is inconsistent with the aspirations and demands of many years, and the practical choice, therefore, must lie between the first and the second.

It is natural that when a decision is given on a question which has been the subject of such acute controversy among the various communities for so long a period, discussion will proceed on the assumption that each community will form in each provincial legislature a self-contained and homogeneous unit pursuing its interests in opposition to every other community. To my mind this is a profound misconception of the developments to which we may look forward under a system of self-government. A Government has to deal with the practical problems of the advancement and prosperity of its people. The people are not in their ordinary lives divided in exclusive communal compartments. They have the most varied relations with each other, and these relations develop a series of interests

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and objects which are bound to cut across the purely communal outlook. I would, therefore, suggest to those who are looking at self-government in India as a problem of the Raj of one community or of another to reflect that in practice this is not a natural development, and I would urge them rather to contemplate as a more probable picture of the future a grouping of parties on the basis of economic or other non-communal interests.

The completion of the specific enquiries I have mentioned and the announcement of the Communal Award brought us to the conclusion of a definite stage and interest passed to the next steps to be taken in the task of completing the scheme of constitutional reform. But before I take up the debated question of future procedure, let me first attempt very briefly to sum up the general constitutional position now reached. The second Round Table Conference gave us in broad outline the framework of the future Federation, and I would remind Hon'ble Members that on the conclusion of the Conference the White Paper of His Majesty's Government, comprising the scheme evolved in the Conference discussions, was placed before Parliament and received its approval. Do not let us lose sight of the importance attaching to the approval then given. What in effect did it mean? The policy of His Majesty's Government expressed in the Prime Minister's speech at the conclusion of the first Round Table Conference was the policy of the Labour Government then in power. The contribution of the second Round Table Conference was that the same policy was first accepted by the National Government and then approved by Parliament. Once that step was taken, the introduction of constitutional reform in India on the basis of an all-India Federation, coupled with the widest practicable measure of Responsible Government at the Centre and in the Provinces, could no longer be described

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even by its critics as a party decision. It is now the approved policy of the British Government, of the British Parliament, and of the British people.

In thinking over the problems of the new constitution I have found it a help to divide them into three well-defined groups—those problems which impinge primarily on the relations between the two countries, Great Britain and India. In this group there come such matters as reservations and safeguards. Secondly, those problems affecting the relations of British India and the Indian States. In this group I put the federal issues, for instance, the composition of the Federal-Legislature, the proportion of seats to be assigned to the States, and last, but not least, federal finance. My third group relates to the relations between the Centre and the Provinces in British India. During these summer months my Government, with the encouragement and support of the Secretary of State, have been actively engaged in taking stock of the position under each of these three large groups of issues, scrutinising with care the problems arising from this or that difficult complication, seeking and suggesting solutions for further consideration by the Lord Chancellor's Committee, which, in Lord Sankey's personal charge, has been engaged on similar work at home. In the course of this work we have probed deeply into questions of which past discussions have touched only the surface. But we have discovered nothing to shake our faith in the ideal we pursue. Speaking on behalf of my colleagues and myself I tell Hon'ble Members frankly that the conclusion we have reached is that all that is now required is good-will and mutual confidence to carry us to the end of our journey, so that we may see rising before us the fruition of our hopes and labours. We have passed from the early stages when the field was prepared by the discussion of general principles. We

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have reached the time when practical decisions must be taken. Need I say that this is the stage when the ready help of all who wish well of our work is most to be desired ?

Hon'ble Members may remember the discussions in the second Round Table Conference on the subject of what was described as reform by instalments, and the strength of feeling aroused in some quarters against any suggestion that a start should be made first with the Provinces. But at the same time there have been some, including in their number many whose opinion merits respect, who have argued that Federation must take time and that Provincial Autonomy should be the stepping-stone to the larger scheme. After the fullest consultation with my Government, the Secretary of State announced on the 27th June that His Majesty's Government have decided to proceed by way of a single Bill covering both the Federal Centre and the Provinces. I feel sure that this decision, in which my Government whole-heartedly concurred, has been in accord with the great mass of political opinion in this country.

In this statement the Secretary of State further announced the intention of His Majesty's Government, after they had formulated their specific recommendations for Indian constitutional reform, to set up a Joint Select Committee of Parliament to examine these proposals in consultation with Indian representatives. He said that His Majesty's Government hoped in the interest of speed that no further formal discussions would be necessary in London before these proposals were formulated, but that they were prepared to arrange for such discussions if deliberations in India of the Consultative Committee proved less conclusive than was hoped. Since this announcement was made, it has become clear that it is not possible to look to the Consultative Committee for the contribution

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anticipated from it, and in consequence, in order to place His Majesty's Government in possession of material they will require for framing of their proposals, I am authorised to inform Hon'ble Members that His Majesty's Government have decided that it will be necessary to hold further discussions in London,—the possibility of which was indicated in the Secretary of State's statement. His Majesty's Government propose therefore to invite a small body of representatives of the States and British India to meet them in London about the middle of November. They intend by this means to make an earnest attempt to reach an agreement consistent with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government upon the important questions that still remain to be decided. Whilst the status of the Indian representatives will be the same as that of the delegates at the sessions of the Round Table Conference, the character of the discussion and the stage that has now been reached necessitate a less formal and more expeditious procedure than that adopted during the last two years. This result they are convinced will be best achieved by avoiding any public session and by working upon a fixed agenda. The object of the discussions will be to arrive at an agreement upon as large a number of points as possible. As already indicated by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, the Government will subsequently present for the consideration of the Joint Select Committee and of Parliament its specific recommendations, including the points which have been agreed to, and will of course support them.

Let me, before I conclude, say a word or two to Hon'ble Members of a rather more personal character, to express at this critical juncture in the life of India the inmost feelings of one who has spent many happy years in this country and who can claim that he has honestly striven during those years for her progress and advance.

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Fate, or I would rather say Providence, ordained that our two races should for long years be associated together in India, and while we have had our differences and disagreements, while we have all made our mistakes, I think if we look fairly at the past, it may truly be said that our association has brought peaceful conditions and freedom of action to all law-abiding citizens, has helped forward the development of the country and has improved the conditions of the people. There is still an immense amount of work to be done. And now we are arriving at one of the most critical moments in the history of India when we British will be soon handing over very largely the responsibility of the administration of the country to Indian control.

When I first landed on the shores of Bombay nearly 20 years ago to undertake the duties of Governor of that Presidency, in the first speech that I made after my arrival there, I appealed for the co-operation of all its citizens to help me in my work. Eighteen months ago when I arrived to take over the duties of Viceroy of India I made the same appeal to all the citizens of India. Today I again make the same appeal with all the earnestness at my command, for it is surely evident to every thinking man that the success of the Constitutional Reforms cannot be assured merely by the actions of His Majesty's Government or the Government of India. Real success can only be achieved as a result of the willing help and co-operation of the Princes and the people of India as a whole.

Let us therefore put aside all personal distrust and suspicion ; let us believe in each other's sincerity of purpose ; let us get rid of, as far and as quickly as possible, the bitterness of our communal differences. Let us work together in the closest co-operation for the united pur-

Deputation of the Delhi Citizens' League.

pose of securing a national spirit in India, for it is then and not till then that India will take her rightful position among the nations of the world.

It is with these words of hope that I commend Hon'ble Members to their labours and trust that Providence may guide them aright in the best interests of our country and her people.

DEPUTATION OF THE DELHI CITIZENS' LEAGUE.

23rd Novem-
ber 1932.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the Delhi Citizens' League at The Viceroy's House on 23rd November 1932 and replied in the following terms :—

Members of the Delhi Citizens' League,—Lady Willingdon and I warmly appreciate the kind words with which you have greeted us this morning, and my sense of gratitude is deepened by the fact that your words are real words of welcome and do not ask me, as I have found addresses so often do, to solve problems which have defeated the best efforts of my predecessors, or to deal with difficult questions which are exercising your minds at the present time. Furthermore, let me add that I very cordially appreciate your sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Majesty the King-Emperor, expressed as they are in such spontaneous and unqualified terms.

At a time like the present it is most pleasing and encouraging to me to know that the prominent citizens of all communities in India's Capital, the men who through their varied interests and occupations provide employment and means of livelihood to our workers, the men who have a stake in the country, and to whom

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the peace of the country is all important in order to secure successful results for their enterprise, have appreciated the aims and objects of the Government of India in their firm determination to preserve law and order throughout the country. It was, therefore, with the greatest satisfaction that I listened to your remarks, Sir, regarding the betterment of the economic situation in Delhi, which, I believe, apply equally to all other parts of India, and of the improvement in the political atmosphere of which, there can, I maintain, be absolutely no doubt whatever.

In this regard, may I say that I feel that the importance of plain speaking cannot, at the present juncture, be overestimated. Those who wish their country well should come out into the open and not be afraid to say so and range themselves on the side of all those who are striving to secure constitutional advance and to work for peace and co-operation.

It is for this reason that I warmly congratulate you upon the formation of your League, and I hope that your excellent example will be followed in many other parts of India. I am delighted to learn of the success which has attended your efforts so far, and I trust that you will continue to strive to add to your numbers and to expand your activities in all directions, for the testimony which you have borne to the inherent loyalty of the vast majority of Delhi's citizens encourages me to hope that, as the aims of your League become better known, more and more members will be enrolled to assist in the work which you have so ably begun. It must also be remembered that in no sense can your organisation be called a reactionary one; on the contrary, you are in the forefront of those who are anxiously looking for constitutional reform, as is evinced by the

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remarks in your address with regard to the great interest with which you are watching the course of the deliberations now taking place in London at the Round Table Conference between some of the leading representatives of Parliament in Great Britain and those of the Princes and people of India. I share with you the earnest hope that the outcome of those deliberations will be successful in every way.

I was glad to hear your charming and most cordial references in regard to the appointment of your new Chief Commissioner, Mr. Johnson, and express my complete agreement with your view that we have the right man in the right place, under whose guidance, to use your own words, we hope that the progress and well-being of your province will not only be maintained but redoubled by reason of his thorough personal knowledge of your needs and problems. My gratitude is very specially due to you, Sir, for your generous and most graceful references to my wife's constant interest in all matters connected with the social life of all classes of people who live in this city. Having been closely associated with Lady Willingdon both in her public and private life for a considerable number of years, I wish to endorse every word you have said with regard to her manifold activities and to assure you that we are both anxious to become worthy of our citizenship of Delhi both by helping forward your schemes for the improvement of the well-being of your citizens and by getting to know for ourselves the countless objects of beauty and history which are here for all to see. The splendour of the New does not blind us to the glory of the Old. Both have their charm and their fascination, and happy is the lot of those who, like ourselves, are privileged to live in the Capital of India.

Banquet at Jaipur.

Let me thank you once again for your cordial welcome and assure you that your prayers and good wishes give strength to my hands and courage to my heart in carrying on the labours and responsibilities of the great office which it is my privilege to fill.

BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur gave a Banquet in 3rd December 1932; honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As Your Highness has said, it is unfortunately too true that the life of the Viceroy as of most other people nowadays seems to become ever more strenuous and that it is no longer possible as in the more spacious days of a generation back to spend long periods away from Headquarters of Government. At the same time personal and first-hand acquaintance with as many important persons and places as possible is as desirable for a Viceroy as for anybody else who is called by fate to high office ; and a tour in Rajputana combines the pleasure of seeing old and historic States with the interest of discussing with their Rulers and Ministers the many problems that surround us today. It is therefore for these reasons a very real pleasure to me to find myself as Your Highness' guest at Jaipur, and I trust that an acquaintance, may I say friendship, so happily started may be of the greatest value to both of us during the coming year. There has sometimes been a tendency to regard many of the States as picturesque survivals of a feudal past, to be preserved almost as Museum exhibits, rather than as living entities that are ready and willing to play an important part in the new era that is coming over India. No greater mistake could be made. The proceedings of the last Conference of

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Princes showed that the three Premier States of Rajputana were ready with constructive proposals of their own ; and it has given me great pleasure to be able to arrange for their joint representation at the next meeting of the Round Table Conference. At the same time I welcome Your Highness' recognition of the benefits that have ensued from the existing relations between the Durbar and the Crown and I have the fullest sympathy with your desire that these should not be impaired, whatever other changes may be brought about by the new constitution.

Another idea which dies hard is that the Ruler of an Indian State lives a life of gilded ease, devoting himself only to athletic pursuits or to pleasure of various kinds ; and any pre-eminence on the part of a Ruler in any form of sport is I regret to say too often used by the ill-disposed as the basis of allegations that this is his only interest in life. May I as one who has for many years taken a keen interest in all kinds of sports and games assert that the old saw *mens sana in corpore sano* is none the less true for being somewhat hackneyed ; and the brief summary which Your Highness has given of the public works undertaken in Jaipur since you received full powers—a list which in these hard times is enough to fill most Provinces in British India with consuming envy—is sufficient to show that a long handicap at polo is no bar to a real and active interest in administration. I hear, moreover, stories of readiness to listen patiently to applicants of every walk in life, whether in your capital or on tour in the districts, which show that Your Highness is fully aware of the importance of the personal touch, and of treating all classes and creeds of your subjects alike. While this continues, I think that Jaipur should have little to fear from enemies within or without the State.

Furthermore, what Your Highness has told me tonight regarding the New General Hospital is indeed a very

Address from the Ajmer Municipal Committee.

practical example of the solicitude which Your Highness shows for the welfare of your people. I congratulate you most warmly upon the exceedingly generous donation which Your Highness has personally made to the New Hospital Fund and I feel sure that the opportunity which you have given to your Tazimi Sardars and other leading citizens of the State to be brought into close association with such a worthy project will be eagerly seized upon and that the example set by Your Highness, by Raja Baldeo Das Birla, Bishwambarlal Maheshwari and Thakur Narendra Singh of Jobner will be promptly followed by liberal donations from many others.

Your Highness, on behalf of Lady Willingdon and myself I wish to thank you most heartily for the cordial welcome which you have extended to us. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking long life and prosperity to Lieutenant His Highness Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Bahadur of Jaipur.

ADDRESS FROM THE AJMER MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

In replying to the Address presented by the Ajmer Municipal Committee on 4th December 1932, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you warmly for your cordial welcome. We were looking forward to having this opportunity of visiting a city which apart from its historical and religious associations, to which you have alluded in your address, is surpassed by few cities of India in beauty of situation.

The inhabitants of Ajmer may justly be proud that they are citizens of so renowned and beautiful a city. As they lift up their eyes to the surrounding hills, crowned

Address from the Ajmer Municipal Committee.

with the monuments of former days, they must continually be reminded of their city's glorious past, and when they see the crowds of eager pilgrims flocking from far and near to Ajmer, they must realise with a thrill of pride that her pre-eminence does not lie *only* in the past. Her spell has not lost its potency ; still she fascinates the imagination of millions and draws them to her from the most distant parts of India.

On you, to whose care the affairs of this great city are entrusted, a heavy responsibility does, as you say, rest. Your success or your failure will earn for you applause or condemnation, not from your fellow-citizens only, but also from the countless thousands who hold Ajmer in veneration as a centre of their faith.

I am very glad to hear that something has already been accomplished in two of the most important branches of municipal administration—water-supply and sanitation—and that you are contemplating further improvements in these directions. I trust that in spite of the difficulties with which you are confronted, you will be able to carry these urgent schemes to completion at no distant date. I can only repeat the assurance given to you by Lord Irwin, when he visited Ajmer in 1930, that my Government will view with sympathy any efforts which you make to develop your resources and to provide the funds required for your projects, and will give the most careful consideration to your needs. At the same time I would remind you that you can achieve much by your own efforts if, uninfluenced by personal considerations, your sole aim is always to promote the best interests of the public of Ajmer, whose representatives you are. Only in this way can you earn their confidence and receive from them the support, which you will then be entitled to expect. Without this support full success cannot be achieved. Municipal administration is frequently hampered by apathy, or

Address to Istimrardars of Ajmer.

even opposition, on the part of the public who are too apt to adopt the attitude that their own responsibilities cease when they have elected representatives, and to forget that a citizen can never divest himself of his civic obligations. Criticism is easier than active co-operation and it is perhaps human nature to resent taxation. But the administration of a Municipality can never be efficient unless the general body of citizens are ready to co-operate in efforts to improve conditions in their city and are prepared to provide the funds, without which schemes for improvement cannot be carried out.

In your address you have referred to the impending constitutional changes in India. I assure you that the interests and aspirations of Ajmer-Merwara will not be neglected or overlooked.

In conclusion I thank you very warmly for the good wishes you have expressed for the success of my administration and for the cordial welcome that you have extended to Lady Willingdon and myself. We wish Ajmer a future of increasing prosperity.

ADDRESS TO ISTIMRARDARS OF AJMER.

While at Ajmer His Excellency the Viceroy received the Tazimi Istimrardars, whom he addressed in the following terms :—

Istimrardars of Ajmer,—It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of meeting you in Ajmer today and I must thank you for the cordial welcome which you have given to Her Excellency and myself.

As you have said, the Istimrardars of Ajmer hold a position which may fairly be described as unique, and of this position and of your past history and traditions you may well be proud. The Government of India in their

Address to Istimrardars of Ajmer.

relations with you have always shown that they value your loyalty and desire to maintain your dignity and promote your interests, and you may rest assured that you will receive the same consideration in the future. It is impossible to say at present how Ajmer-Merwara will be affected by the new constitutional changes, but, whatever scheme may be devised to enable this district to participate in the reforms, you need have no fear that the legitimate claims of the Istimrardars, who occupy so important a place in the district, will be overlooked.

I regret to learn that there have recently been signs of discontent among the tenants of some of your estates. One explanation of this is no doubt to be found, as you have stated, in the prevailing spirit of unrest ; but partly it is also due to the uncertainty which exists as regards the respective rights and obligations of Istimrardars and their tenants. It is essential in the interests of both that the position should be clarified and you were therefore very wise to move for the appointment of a Committee, by whom an impartial enquiry could be conducted. The good sense which you have shown in this matter and your readiness to defray the expenses of the enquiry are evidence of a desire on your part to progress with the times and to follow the advice given to you by Lord Irwin when he visited Ajmer in 1930. I am sure that you will be equally ready, when the Committee has completed its investigation, to take effective action for the removal of any genuine grievances or the abolition of any burdensome and obsolete customs which may be brought to light. Some of you have already taken such action and I am glad to hear that, when trouble arose in the Bagsuri estate, the Istimrardar by his conciliatory attitude and wise concessions was able to effect a speedy and satisfactory settlement and to restore harmony between his tenants and himself. The prosperity of an estate depends on nothing so much as on harmonious relations between

Laying of the foundation stone of the Willingdon Hospital at Udaipur.

landlord and tenants. An atmosphere of suspicion and distrust is fatal to their well-being. Between your cultivators and yourselves there have been in the past traditional bonds of esteem and affection. It is incumbent on you to avoid any weakening of these bonds in the future by mistakes engendered by a blind conservatism.

You are to be congratulated on forming an Istimrar-dars Association, which will enable you to consult together on matters affecting your estates and to take common action for the solution of the problems which must from time to time arise in connection with their management.

In conclusion let me assure you that I shall always take a keen interest in your welfare and wish you all prosperity and happiness.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE
WILLINGDON HOSPITAL AT UDAIPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy performed the ceremony of the 6th December 1932.
laying of the foundation stone of the Willingdon Hospital Building at Udaipur on 6th December 1932 and said :—

Your Highness,—It gives me great pleasure to lay the foundation stone of the New Hospital which is evidence of His Highness' solicitude for his subjects and of his desire to provide improved medical facilities in the State. I am very grateful to His Highness for associating my name with this new Institution.

I hope that this Institution, the foundation stone of which is now to be laid, may prove a blessing to His Highness' people and have a future of ever-expanding utility.

BANQUET AT UDAIPUR.

6th December 1932. His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In replying to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness,—I thank Your Highness most cordially for the very warm welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to your State. We are both delighted to have had the opportunity of renewing our friendship with Your Highness in your own home amidst such historic and delightful surroundings. Your kindness and thoughtfulness have distinguished all the arrangements made for our visit and nothing that could add to our pleasure or interest has been omitted.

I am particularly pleased to have used this occasion for obtaining at first hand some knowledge of the administrative problems with which Your Highness is dealing, and let me at once congratulate you heartily on the measured progress which you are achieving in this regard. I am fully alive to the unremitting and methodical devotion which Your Highness has paid to your princely duties, and I feel sure that your splendid example must be an inspiration to your nobles and officials, and, indeed, I have little doubt that your personal influence in this respect, as in many others, extends far beyond the confines of Mewar.

With becoming modesty, Your Highness has made no reference in your speech to the improvements you have effected in the administration of your State. It may be that Your Highness prefers to leave history to record her own verdict. But nevertheless, I understand that steady progress is being made in every department of the State administration. Your Highness has an efficient and expanding Railway service. The Revenue Department has been thoroughly reorganised. The Army and Police are in process of reconstruction. The judicial machinery of

Banquet at Udaipur.

the State is being steadily improved. At the same time I realise some of the difficulties with which Your Highness is confronted, particularly those connected with the depreciation of the local currency—a reaction from the world-wide economic depression and the fall in the value of silver, both of which causes are beyond the power of the Durbar to control. But I am an optimist by nature, and I honestly believe that the slight economic improvement apparent in India at the present time is the forerunner of better things to come and that we shall now go steadily forward to more prosperous times, of which I feel confident that Udaipur will have her full share.

I am glad to be able to tell Your Highness that your Chief Counsellor, Sir Sukhdeo Pershad, assisted greatly in the Conference of Ruling Princes and their Ministers which I convened in Simla last September, and I trust that at this moment in London his wise counsels are helping to shape the destiny of the future constitution for India, on the accomplishment of which many of the leading public men of India and Great Britain are at present so busily engaged. In this connection, I need hardly add that I was delighted to hear Your Highness' very clear remarks that the existing relations between the British Crown and the States should remain unaltered in any future Constitution for India and that matters affecting the Treaty Rights of the States with the implications to which you have alluded should, in the future, as in the past, be observed in their entirety. With these sentiments, I can assure Your Highness that I am in entire agreement.

Once more I thank Your Highness very warmly for your kindness and hospitality. I will now ask Your Highness' guests to join me in drinking to the long life, health and prosperity of my old friend, His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur.

BANQUET AT INDORE.

8th December
1932.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In replying to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to Your Highness for the charming words with which you have proposed the health of Lady Willingdon and myself, and also to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you responded to the toast. It was a matter of great regret to Lady Willingdon and myself that owing to circumstances over which I had no control, or rather I should say that owing to a situation which I had to control, we were compelled to postpone our visit to Indore which had been arranged a few months ago. However, one advantage of that postponement is that we now come to Your Highnesses not as strangers as we should have done if we had adhered to our original plan, for in the meantime we have had the great pleasure of entertaining Your Highnesses as our guests in Delhi, where we formed a personal friendship which I hope and believe will prove of a lasting and ever-increasing character.

I was delighted to hear Your Highness refer to the cordial relations which exist between the Government of India and the Holkar State and I share to the full the satisfaction you have expressed over the recent settlement of two important claims. Both in the case of the rendition of the Residency Bázars and in the case of the transfer of Manpur, the inhabitants agreed willingly to pass from British jurisdiction to the jurisdiction of the Indore Government, which is indeed a happy symbol of the contended atmosphere in which your people live. The Chandgarh question was a problem of peculiar complexity ; it has been solved in a manner which should gratify all concerned, so let us hope that no after-thoughts will arise to mar the completeness of the settlement.

Banquet at Indore.

When Your Highness ascended the *Gadi* two and a half years ago, the present unparalleled economic crisis was beginning to make its mark. So one can say that you started your rule under a serious disadvantage. For this I sympathise deeply with you, but at the same time I would like to say how gratified I am that this disadvantage has not deterred Your Highness from pursuing the policy most beneficial to your subjects. You have conceived the first essentials for the well-being of your State and even if it curtails other activities, I trust you will continue to follow the policy of feeding the nation-building departments of your administration. This afternoon I had the pleasure of inspecting the Badarkha works which impressed me greatly ; I hope the project will be completed as soon as possible, although the expenditure involved will add considerably to the provision which should ordinarily be available for the construction and maintenance of the public works. The immense improvement in the water-supply and in the drainage of Indore city which is bound to result from the scheme is well worth the financial effort entailed. Such projects are evidence that the foundations of a successful and popular régime are well and truly laid. Your Highness, at the outset of your career, can build on these foundations a noble superstructure which will ever commemorate the beneficent results of your labours.

I endorse emphatically Your Highness' view with regard to rural uplift and the welfare of the agriculturists. They should always be their Ruler's supreme concern and I congratulate you upon the measures you have already introduced for the betterment of the peasants' lot. Revenue administration is a most difficult subject and in my opinion the wisest principle to aim at is to distribute the burden of taxation as evenly as practicable amongst all the various classes of the State's subjects.

Banquet at Indore.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me now make a brief reference to the deliberations which are at present taking place in regard to the future constitution of India. Even among the Princely Order there are various shades of opinion as to the best methods to be adopted to secure the end to which we all aspire, and it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to make the States' Delegation as fully representative of those diverging schools of thought as the limited numbers of the Third Round Table Conference permit. Let me assure Your Highness that you need entertain no apprehensions that the interests of the States will be overlooked. At all times and whatever changes may be made the States will continue to receive the attention to which their position and importance in India and in the Empire justly entitle them.

I feel you will appreciate my inability to comment upon the recommendations of the Davidson Committee. They form an important part of the agenda of the current Conference and as such are *sub judice*. But I am confident that we can await the result of the Conference in a spirit of hopefulness that the goal for which we are all working will be attained and I think we can also rest assured that the claims of the Indore State will meet with substantial justice.

I now wish to renew my thanks to Your Highnesses for your welcome and for all the hospitality you have extended to us. As hosts you could not have been more thoughtful in providing all that could interest and captivate us during our visit. We shall carry away delightful recollections not only of Indore but of the personal friendship of Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharani towards us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, let me now ask you to join me in drinking the health of Their Highnesses. May Your Highness long be spared to guide the destinies of Indore State and to labour for the advancement of your people.

PRIZE-GIVING AT THE DALY COLLEGE, INDORE.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the ceremony of the Prize-giving at the Daly College, Indore, and made the following speech :—

9th December
1932.

Mr. Salter, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
I thank you very sincerely on behalf of Lady Willingdon and myself for the cordial welcome you have extended to us on this our first visit to your College. It is a particular pleasure to me that I have been able to appear in my capacity as President at today's function which marks such an interesting stage in the history of the College. For, as we have just heard, 20 years ago Lord Hardinge opened the building we now occupy, ten years ago the College was reconstituted with a view to associating the Ruling Chiefs and Princes more closely with the control of its affairs, and now we are on the eve of a further revision of the College constitution on a self-governing basis. On the establishment of independent control the Viceroy will become a Patron ; perhaps this is a more appropriate position than that of President since circumstances have never permitted of a Viceroy actually presiding at a meeting of the General Council of the College. But whatever my status may be, I can assure you that during my Viceroyalty my interests in your affairs will not diminish. Chiefs' Colleges will always possess an especial interest for me, for they are the training grounds of the character and capacity of those who will hereafter be entrusted with great responsibilities in the Indian States and, as such, the position they hold in India is unique.

Mr. Salter has referred to the possibility of Government's annual grant-in-aid being withdrawn. Let us hope we shall be able to continue to help you, for I know my Government recognises fully the great value of your work in the cause of Indian education. I must, however, ask you to remember that the responsibilities of the Central Exchequer are already a formidable burden. Your College

Prize-giving at the Daly College, Indore.

exists for the education of the sons of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs in Central India and of their Sardars and Jagirdars. It can hardly be expected that British India will endow indefinitely an institution, however praiseworthy, that admits States subjects only and excludes British Indians. Should the Government of India at any future time be forced to take away the substantial grant now given to the Revenues of the College, I am confident that the Princes and Chiefs concerned will not be slow to fill the gap. Your Principal has mentioned that most of them are already extending their material and moral support and I am sure that it is not too much to expect that each and every State will play its part in assisting an institution which has in the short space of half a century done so much for the educational advancement of the Princely Order and of the Nobility. The imminent revision in the College's constitution will bring the Princes into even closer touch with its administration and in consequence the deeper will grow their interest. For these reasons I feel we can all rest confident that the aims for which the College was founded will never be allowed to suffer owing to financial embarrassments of the Central Government.

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating the College generally on its fine academic record and also the individuals who have won prizes. A hundred per cent. record of successes is indeed a proud achievement ; I say cent. per cent., as I think we can justly leave out of account the case of the unfortunate Kumar whose sickness prevented him from attending his examination !

The cricket match which I recently had the pleasure of watching at Ajmer gave me the opportunity of seeing the other side of your College life. As a keen follower of the game I congratulate both teams on their play. The game was contested in the true spirit of sportsmanship

Opening of the New Hospital at Rutlam.

and I trust that this excellent spirit, engendered during College days, will be fostered and made full use of in later life. It all helps to add to the "tone" of the College, and this remark leads me, Mr. Salter, to refer to Colonel Heale's words which you quoted at the close of your speech. A good tone and a noble tradition are the greatest assets to any College. Like patriotism they do not emanate from the efforts of a single person or even of an individual class. They grow up from combined and continuous effort, not only in the interest of the present but with pride in the past and high hope in the future. Their promotion and protection must always be the chief care of the Ruling Body, the Staff and the boys themselves and I am confident they will all continue to give of their best in such a splendid cause. Let all concerned remember the objects for which the College was founded and follow as closely as possible the English Public School system, for it is world-famous and conducive of the finest characteristics of citizenship and manhood.

I thank you again, gentlemen, for the warm terms in which you have greeted Lady Willingdon and myself. We are delighted with all we have seen and request you, Mr. Salter, to give the Kumars a week's holiday in token of our visit.

OPENING OF THE NEW HOSPITAL AT RUTLAM.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Opening of the New Hospital at Rutlam on the 11th December 1932 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Your Highness has happily reminded me of the previous occasions on which I have had the pleasure of meeting you during my life in this country. It is the recollection of those meetings that made me look forward with particular

Opening of the New Hospital at Rutlam.

pleasure to this opportunity of renewing our personal friendship today. Let me tender to Your Highness, on behalf of Lady Willingdon and myself, our warmest thanks for the more than generous manner in which you have welcomed us to your State. We also are disappointed that our stay can only be of such short duration, but, as you have rightly surmised, tours in these days are perforce brief and in consequence the object to be attained is to visit as many places as possible in the limited time available.

Your Highness' loyalty to the Crown and your splendid record of four years' active service on the Western front are too well known to require any reference from me. I will only say how proud I am that during the many years Your Highness has been guiding the destinies of Rutlam State, you have fostered and protected with the greatest care its noble tradition of devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

A little more than four years ago Lord Irwin laid the foundation stone of the hospital which I am about to have the honour of opening. The fact that the scheme, costing Rs. 1,25,000, has been completed in this comparatively short period, when economic circumstances have been far from favourable, is in itself a striking illustration of the progressive ideals which have inspired Your Highness' long and benevolent rule. It is one of the many considered improvements which Your Highness has introduced in every Department—improvements calculated to secure the happiness and good government of your people.

In my opinion there could be no happier augury for the future success of this new hospital than the deep appreciation which the services of the Maharani Rajkunwar Hospital have evoked from your people. Its long career of over-increasing utility has perpetuated the name of Your

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Highness' Mother in a manner that could not be bettered. Similarly, the great building which we see before us, constructed to meet growing requirements and equipped in the most modern fashion, will, I am confident, always commemorate the solicitude which Your Highness evinces for the welfare of your subjects.

May I particularly thank Your Highness for the very charming references you made to my wife ? I can assure you that it is her constant desire to do all that lies in her power for the good of India and her people. With Your Highness' permission I will now declare the hospital open. May it ever serve the noble purpose for which it was built and may it shower unbounded blessings on the sick and suffering amongst your people.

BANQUET AT BARODA.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 12th Decem-
Viceroy at the State Banquet at Baroda on 12th December ber 1932.
1932 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am indeed grateful to Your Highness for the very charming words with which you have proposed the health of Lady Willingdon and myself this evening and I am particularly grateful for the very cordial personal references which you have made with regard to us both, for we can certainly claim to come to you as old friends who have been eagerly looking forward to renewing a friendship started many years ago when I was Governor of Bombay and strengthened with the passage of time until my return to you now as Viceroy. Our pleasure this evening is, however, greatly marred by the absence of Her Highness the Maharani Saheba, who we can also claim as a very old friend and I would ask Your Highness to convey to Her Highness an expression of our regret at her inability to

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be here during the occasion of our visit. I thank Your Highness most gratefully for the generous and graceful remarks which you made with regard to my wife's constant efforts and activities on behalf of the womanhood of India which has extended over a period of many years, and assure you that the regret we feel at the absence of Her Highness the Maharani Saheba is considerably lessened by the fact that your charming daughter is here to greet us, who is also a very old friend to us both. I would only add that I trust that the delight which you tell us she feels at meeting and welcoming Lady Willingdon may be extended to Lady Willingdon's husband also.

Your Highness, in your speech, has referred in hopeful terms to the outcome of the Round Table Conference now assembled in London with a view to discussing and, I trust, coming to general agreement upon a new Constitution for India. May I say that I cordially share Your Highness' hopes that their discussions will be entirely successful. My firm conviction is that an All-India Federation with necessary safeguards will be to the advantage and in the interests of the States and British India alike, and I was delighted to hear Your Highness express your decided opinion that my conviction is shared by the Ruler of so advanced a State as Baroda. It will indeed hearten those of us who are doing what we can to forward this great ideal and I think it is true to say that, thanks largely to the acceptance by the States in general of the principle of Federation, our hopes have been increased that the deliberations of the Conference in London, where Your Highness is so ably represented by your Diwan, Mr. Krishnamachari, may be expected to result in a successful conclusion. Two significant points were raised by Your Highness to which I should like to make special reference. You remarked that in the future Federation, the States should have their present autonomy

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in matters *outside* the Federal sphere and that in the new order of things, there should be no striving after a crushing and soul-destroying uniformity. With both these principles I am in entire agreement. It would indeed be a grievous pity if the individuality of the separate units composing the Federation were engulfed in one large featureless body, and although there must inevitably be a certain degree of uniformity in the administration of matters coming within the orbit of the Federal sphere, they surely need not interfere with the special characteristics and historic traditions of the States.

The many administrative improvements that have marked Your Highness' long and fruitful period of rule are too well-known to us all to need any lengthy remarks from me tonight, but in view of the great interest which is now being evinced in the matter of social and educational advancement throughout the whole of India, I would like for a moment to refer briefly to what Your Highness has done in this regard. I would mention the "Age of Marriage" Act, the "Hindu Divorce" Act, and the "Freedom of Religion" Act, the passing of which have been Your Highness' personal concern. Scarcely less striking is the forward plan which Baroda has secured for herself in the realm of education, especially female education which could only have been achieved by the unremitting interest shown by Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharani Saheba. Primary education has been free and compulsory since 1906 whilst at the same time due provision has been made for secondary, technical and college educations. It is significant that in this same period the State Revenues have risen from $1\frac{3}{4}$ crores to $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees and the revenue per head of population is higher than in any other Indian State of similar size and importance. Education alone would not, of course, account for this, but Your Highness has wisely seen that the economic

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development of your State has kept pace with the educational side of your activities. Your Picture Gallery and your Central library with its remarkable system of circulating rural libraries, are famous far beyond the boundaries of Baroda, and I was very glad to learn that this great scheme of giving the chance of educational study in even the most remote villages of your State is progressing extremely well. As regards the other features of Your Highness' administration I do not propose to particularise, but I congratulate you on the fact that Baroda is well to the fore in every sphere of administrative activity—a gratifying reward of the half century and more of earnest effort on the part of Your Highness to improve the lot of your people ; and in time to come posterity may well look back on Your Highness' period of Rule as the Golden Age of Baroda History.

One word more and I have finished. Your Highness mentioned the need for 'co-operation' in the future amongst all classes and communities in India. In the first speech which I made on my arrival in this country after my appointment as Viceroy I appealed with all the earnestness at my command for the 'co-operation' of all those who wished me well in the great task with which I had been entrusted. I can truly say that the result of that appeal has received a generous response, and I still hope that many of those who have refused to co-operate and have pursued a policy of civil disobedience may see the error of their ways and join with us in working for the great purpose we all have in view. In the new constitution, however, as Your Highness has so rightly said, the need for co-operation becomes greater still. For while greater responsibility in our Parliamentary life will bring, as in other countries, differences of views on great political problems, the necessity for getting rid of our personal and communal differences, and of working for the common

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purpose of helping forward in every constitutional way the prosperity of our country and the welfare of its people will become more urgent than ever before. But with the lightening and ultimate removal of that control, these differences and divisions are bound to prove grave sources of weakness and it thus behoves all who have India's interests at heart to do what they can to forget them and banish them from their thoughts and minds for ever.

I thank Your Highness once again for your kindness and hospitality and I ask all those present to join with me in drinking long life and happiness to His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and prosperity to his State.

ORIENT CLUB DINNER, BOMBAY.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 16th Decem-
the Orient Club Dinner at Bombay on the 16th December ber 1932.
1932 :—

Gentlemen,—I need hardly tell you what a pleasure it is to me to find myself at last after many efforts among my old friends in Bombay, and to be once again the guest of the members of the Orient Club, where I can recall spending pleasant evenings in years gone by. Indeed my presence here reminds me of my first arrival after my appointment as Viceroy when what has usually been a stately ceremonial became to my wife and myself the most delightful reunion with all those who had shown us in difficult days in this Presidency such splendid loyalty and friendship in the past. And I am glad to be here for I know the purpose for which this Club was created, in order that through friendly social intercourse our two races should get to understand each other better, an object for which I think I can claim

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I have always worked since I first came to India, and I am proud to feel that the Willingdon Sports Club still flourishes in this city, and is a practical evidence of the interest I have always taken in this matter. But some of you here tonight may be saying to yourselves that the Lord Willingdon whom you knew here as Governor a good many years ago in Bombay seems to be a very different person from the Lord Willingdon who has come out as Viceroy of India for his administrative actions during the past 18 months have been of a very severe and drastic character. My reply to such gentlemen, if there are any here tonight, would be in the first place that Bombay City on my return to India seems to me a very different place to what it was when I left it a good many years ago, for then it was filled with loyal citizens who without distinction of caste or creed, did great service to the Empire in the work they did towards the successful prosecution of the Great War, work of which I still have a grateful vivid recollection ; now it seems to have become the centre and focus of the unlawful civil disobedience movement which has had a disastrous effect on your industrial and commercial life, and in consequence on the welfare of your citizens, and, which if it had not been for the wise and steady administration of your Governor and his Government under extraordinarily difficult conditions would have been far more disastrous still. And in the second place I assert, without fear of contradiction, that my policy today is exactly the same as when first I landed in 1913 on the shores of India. At that time I asked for co-operation from all classes in the work of administration in this Presidency, and I have the most grateful recollection that during my 6 years as Governor here I received it to the full. And when I returned as Viceroy of India 18 months ago, in my first speech I made here at Bombay, I appealed for co-operation from all classes and communi-

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ties of the people of India to assist me in the great task that lay before me.

Let me add that within a few weeks of my arrival in India I met at Simla the leader of the Congress who is also the head of the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movement, Mr. Gandhi, and earnestly appealed to him to give me his co-operation and that of his followers in working towards constitutional reforms on constitutional lines. It is not my purpose tonight to go into any detail as to the numerous efforts I made in the first months of my life in India as Viceroy with himself and his followers to secure the co-operation I desired. I would merely point to results, to show you their response to my efforts—riots of a very serious character in Bombay city, an organised effort on the part of Congress to start a no-rent campaign in the United Provinces, and the Red Shirt movement in the North-West Frontier Province which was of a definitely revolutionary character, and general efforts throughout the country to upset and hamper the work of administration. It is said by many that my action through the promulgation of the Ordinances was of a most repressive character. My answer is that this action was forced on a most unwilling Viceroy by the excesses of the followers of Mr. Gandhi and that my one purpose was to obtain for the law abiding citizen freedom and security against the coercive efforts of those who break the law, and to produce conditions which would make it possible to push forward the work of Constitutional Reforms on which we have been actively engaged during the past three years. I can claim that the policy we have pursued in the past 18 months has not been wholly unsuccessful. We have restored the credit of India in the markets of the world. We have restored confidence in this country among its law abiding citizens that their interests will be protected and that law and order will be maintained.

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Don't think for a moment that I don't realise fully that the present economic condition of this city and of the country is not wholly due to the civil disobedience movement, but has been much aggravated by world economic conditions over which we have little control. But I can't help saying that I think the city of Bombay need not have attained such an unpleasant notoriety recently if its leading and law abiding citizens had shown more courage and initiative in the early stage of your difficulties, had given more active support to His Excellency the Governor and his Government in these past most trying and anxious months and had determined not to compromise in any way with law breakers as the supporters of the civil disobedience movement assuredly are. When I recall the six happy and strenuous years which I spent here as Governor of this Presidency, years which were not without their difficulties, as some of those present to-night are well aware, and remember the loyal support and encouragement I received from the vast majority of its citizens, when I call to mind the memory of those two outstanding statesmen G. K. Gokhale and Ferozeshah Mehta whose personal friendship I valued exceedingly and whose counsel and advice were of the greatest assistance to me during my administrative life here ; when I remember the proud and pre-eminent position that Bombay always held in the past throughout India in all matters of public and political concern, then I assure you the recent happenings in this city have filled me with concern and distress. But of this I am certain. If we combine and co-operate together in the best interests of all classes of the citizens of this Presidency ; if we put aside all racial prejudices, all personal and communal distrust and suspicion, and trust in each others' sincerity of purpose in the great work that lies before

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us, then I am optimist enough to feel confident that we shall ere long find ourselves becoming restored to our normal prosperity in this country and this great city will once again be '*primus inter pares*' among the cities of India.

Let me turn for one moment to say one word as to the other side of the general policy which we have pursued since I arrived in India—the advance towards further Constitutional Reforms on an all-India Federal basis. We have been actively engaged in advancing this policy and, as you all know, the final meeting of the Round Table Conference is now assembled in London with a view to produce a sound and as far as possible agreed scheme to be laid before the Houses of Parliament. The problems to be solved are not without difficulties, but I think I may say that from all the information we have received the discussions have been carried on in a most friendly spirit, with a common desire on the part of all the delegates to arrive at their common goal. If they succeed in their efforts as I profoundly hope they may, I shall look forward to the achievement of my great desire before I leave India, namely to become with few restrictions the first Constitutional Governor-General of India towards the end of my public life, many years of which I have spent in this wonderful country which I have learnt to love so well.

And so let me conclude these remarks by assuring you that my policy is still co-operation, and I am still hopeful that this policy will prevail. Let us put aside distrust and suspicion, let us believe in each others' sincerity of purpose in working whole-heartedly towards the goal we have set before us, of securing for the people of this country full responsibility over the administration of their affairs.

Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar.

Our two races have worked together for long years in the past, it is my confident hope we shall be found working together in the future for the advance and prosperity of India and the mutual advantage of our two peoples.

The clouds of uncertainty may be around us. I hope before long that they will be swept away and that I shall live to see co-operation, friendship and equality of treatment among the citizens of all parts of the Empire.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE LAND-
HOLDERS OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND
BERAR.

19th Decem-
ber 1932.

In replying to the Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar on 19th December 1932, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you most cordially for the warm welcome you have extended to me on the occasion of this, my first visit to the Central Provinces and Berar since assuming office as Viceroy of India. It is a privilege to me to meet here today the representatives of the leading landholders of the Province.

I have heard with great gratification the expressions of the sound traditions of loyalty and public duty which have animated you as a body in the past and which you ever strive to maintain ; those characteristics are indeed right and fitting in view of the prominent position which you occupy in the political and economic life of your Province. I feel confident that you, on your part, will

Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar.

continue to use every effort to advance the interests not only of the landholding classes, but of all those engaged in agricultural pursuits. Whilst I, on my part, can assure you that you can rely upon Government, which is fully alive to the importance of those interests, to pay the closest regard to all measures affecting them.

I sympathize with you in the difficult times through which you are passing owing to the present economic depression, but I would point out to you that the depression is not confined to your community alone, it is, unfortunately, a universal complaint, the remedy for which, though I firmly believe the crisis is passed, lies in careful and constant nursing to bring the condition of the patient back to normal again. I understand that the Province is not in a position to earmark, as you suggest, a portion of its current revenues for financing agriculturalists, for, even with the exercise of the strictest economy, there is extreme difficulty in balancing expenditure and income. With the limited resources at its command, the Province does, however, make advances under the Agriculturalists' Loans Act and the Land Improvement Loans Act, and I am told that such advances have, in these times of depression and security, been considerably increased, especially in those areas which have been most badly hit.

As regards the larger question of substituting State aided and State controlled banking agencies for the present system, it is necessary to proceed cautiously. An experiment of this kind, if it proved a failure, would do much more harm than good. Easy credit will only bear good fruit if the debtor plays his part well, exercises self-restraint, practises thrift and discharges his obligations punctiliously. In this regard it is for you, gentlemen, to set the example for others to follow.

Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar.

I was glad to hear your expressions of gratification to your Government for their Debt Conciliation Bill which is the first legislative measure of its kind in India and which is essentially an experiment. It is, therefore, necessary to proceed cautiously as rash legislation in economic matters may set in motion forces which may be difficult to control and which may endanger the whole fabric of rural credit. The question of amending the Usurious Loans Act and of enacting some measure for the regulation of the transactions of money-lenders, to which you also referred, is already under the consideration of the Government of India.

Your desire for the extension of the demonstration centres of the Agricultural Department is a very natural one which has my sympathy. But I fear that the present retrenchment policy, which circumstances have forced on Government, will not allow of such a proposal in these times. But I am informed that the Agricultural Department is now carrying out demonstrations on the actual land owned by cultivators themselves and that you, gentlemen, can co-operate in achieving the end you desire, by placing at the disposal of the Department suitable areas for demonstration purposes.

The consolidation experiment in the Chhattisgarh division has, as you have rightly said, met with an encouraging measure of success which I am sure is due, in no small part, to the very keen personal interest which His Excellency your Governor has taken in the project. And I feel confident that you may rest assured that if His Excellency feels that a similar success can be achieved by extending the scope of the Consolidation of Holdings Act to other divisions in the Province, he will not hesitate to take the necessary steps to proceed with such a measure.

Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar.

With regard to your desire for an improvement of rural communications on an extensive scale so as to connect every village with a market by means of all-weather roads, again I am in sympathy with your ideal, but, if I may say so, you seem to be proceeding on the assumption that expense is no object. May I suggest that in the first place it would be more desirable to bring all the main roads up to the standard of all-weather roads, when funds are available for the purpose, and then I feel sure that subsidiary all-weather communications would gradually be constructed as a natural course of events. The lowering of railway freight is a problem for the Railway Board to consider and I can assure you that the matter is one which the Board is closely watching and which is constantly receiving their earnest consideration, but with a commercial undertaking of the nature of railway transport, the probabilities of profit and loss on business principles have essentially to be weighed.

You have mentioned, gentlemen, what you describe as an ambiguity in the income-tax law, and, if I understand you aright, your complaint is that if you get your cotton ginned in a factory before you dispose of it, instead of marketing it in the ordinary way in its crude form, the profit you obtain from selling it ginned instead of unginned is assessed to income-tax. You will not, I am sure, dispute the fact that ginning is a manufacturing and not an agricultural process and that it is not essential for you to render cotton fit to be taken to the market ; indeed I am told that the highest judicial court in your Province gave not long ago a ruling on this ground that the extra profit obtained from ginning was therefore liable to income-tax, so that there is no ambiguity as to what the law actually is. I am afraid I can hold out no hope that my Government will be prepared to alter the law.

Address of Welcome presented by the Landholders of the Central Provinces and Berar.

I was glad to hear your expressions of gratitude to the Local Government for the measures taken to bring the Central Provinces Settlement Act on to the Statute Book. The revision of settlements has now been placed on a statutory basis, and you, gentlemen, as landholders, are now assured of the observance of the principles which you regard as essential and which you desire to see applied in the exemption of improvements and the assessment of individual holdings. It is beyond human foresight to predict the future course of prices, and for this reason Government has always followed the path of caution and moderation in settling the demand to be made for land revenue.

I note your anxiety with regard to the recognition by Government of the special needs for the education of the young men of your class. The whole question of education in India today is a most difficult problem, but I know that your Government are fully alive to the need for instruction in Agriculture which is being fostered and encouraged to the extent to which funds will permit.

In conclusion, I thank you once again, gentlemen, for the address of welcome which you have been pleased to present to me today. You have raised many points which are exercising your minds at the present time. Most of these points, however, are of a local character which, I have no doubt whatsoever, are constantly in the mind of my old friend, His Excellency the Governor, who, with his usual ability and foresight, will deal with each and every one on its merits and I can only add that any proposals in which Sir Montagu Butler may wish for the assistance of myself and my Government will always receive my most earnest consideration.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Opening of the Delhi Session of the Legislative Assembly on the 1st February 1933 :—

1st February
1933.

Gentlemen,—In greeting Hon'ble Members this morning at the commencement of this Session of the Legislative Assembly, I feel sure I am voicing their sentiments when I say how sorry I am that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, the Hon'ble President, has been prevented by illness from attending today's proceedings. Before giving my usual survey of the various matters of public concern upon which Hon'ble Members should receive information, I wish to express my thankfulness for the fact that during the past few months there has been a most satisfactory change in the political outlook throughout the whole of the country, brought about, as I think, by a feeling of confidence in the belief that I and my Government are striving with absolute sincerity to advance as rapidly as possible constitutional reforms and at the same time to secure peaceful conditions which are so essential in starting our new form of administration whereby Indians will be given the control of their administrative affairs.

It is not my purpose today to say a word on what I believe to be the reasons for this change. My object is to express my thanks to all those who are mainly responsible for bringing it about.

To the members of all the Services throughout this country I tender my grateful thanks for the devoted and loyal manner in which they have carried out their duties during the past two years, which has been a period of great stress and strain, during which we have been faced with an economic depression which has been unparalleled in our history.

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My thanks are also very sincerely due to Hon'ble Members of our two Legislative Chambers for the helpful guidance and criticism they have given us in the discussions and decisions we have arrived at in regard to such Legislative measures as we have laid before them during the past months.

And lastly my thanks are very specially due to every class and interest in this country for the steadiness and fortitude with which they have all withstood the difficulties of the unprecedented economic depression which might well have caused considerable unrest among the vast population we have to care for.

The clouds of that depression are still over us, but I am full of hope that they will soon disappear, and that if we continue to co-operate together, each in our way towards better days, India will be amongst the first of the countries of the world to take advantage of an economic revival.

I do not propose to deal at any length with Foreign Affairs, since happily there is little information to give Hon'ble Members of the past six months except that India's relations with her neighbours have continued to be of the most satisfactory and friendly character. You will be glad to learn that our policy of peaceful penetration among the tribes of the North-West Frontier is producing excellent results, and I am informed that the administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province are enjoying unprecedented freedom from trans-border raids. I may also take this opportunity of acknowledging the friendly co-operation which we have received from the Afghan Government in dealing with the tribal problems on our common border. With regard to our other frontiers I must express my deep regret at the lamented death of His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Bhim Shumshere Jang Bahadur, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of

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Nepal, whom I had the honour of entertaining in Calcutta little more than a year ago. This sad event has robbed Nepal of a distinguished statesman and India of a staunch friend, but we can find consolation in the fact that he has been succeeded by one whose qualities as statesman, soldier and friend give us all confidence that the association between our two countries will be as close and mutually helpful in the future as it has been in the past.

In September last I made a reference to the unsatisfactory economic position of the Indian agriculturist. There has been some further improvement in the situation since then, and such evidence as is available encourages the hope that the worst period of depression is over. The winter crops have been good in most parts of the country, and prices of agricultural produce, though still low, maintain an upward tendency. Meanwhile, wherever necessary, Local Governments continue to give relief by advancing loans and granting suspensions and remissions of land revenue cess. Of the special measures under consideration by certain Local Governments which I mentioned in my last address, the Central Provinces Debt Conciliation Bill is expected to be passed into law shortly. The report of the United Provinces Agricultural Debts Committee is now before the Local Government who are also endeavouring to find a formula for adjusting rent and revenue automatically with major fluctuations in prices without need for resort to courts.

The world-wide economic depression has inevitably had its repercussions on Indians overseas. In Ceylon and Malaya, Indian labour employed on the tea and rubber estates has felt the effect of the fall in the price of these commodities. Wages have had to be reduced, but my Government have endeavoured, successfully, with the co-operation of the Governments concerned, to prevent such reduction from adversely affecting the labourer's standard

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of living. For those who are unwilling to work on reduced wages facilities for repatriation to their homes in India have been secured. Our Agents in both countries are watching the economic situation carefully with a view to safeguarding the interests of Indian labour. In South Africa also unemployment is common among Indians, especially in Natal, but our Agent there has made representations for relief to the Union Government which we have reason to believe have proved fruitful. The only other point which I need touch upon before passing from this subject is the appointment last October by the Union Government of the Commission to enquire into the occupation of proclaimed land by Indians in the Transvaal. The Commission, which is presided over by Mr. Justice Feetham of the Supreme Court of the Union, has started work, and my Government await its report with keen interest.

I followed with great interest your proceedings during the last Session with regard to the Trade Agreement which had been made at Ottawa by my Government with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and it naturally afforded me the utmost satisfaction that the decision at which you arrived after prolonged consideration confirmed the action which my Government had taken in sending their representatives to the Imperial Economic Conference and in concluding a Trade Agreement. That your decision was a wise one I firmly believe, and I shall look forward with great interest to the results of the periodical examination which you have decided to impose on the working of the agreement in order to test in the light of actual experience its effect upon Indian commerce and industry. I sincerely trust that this new departure in our tariff policy will be found to have justified itself and to have been of definite assistance towards that revival of commercial prosperity which we all so anxiously desire to see effected.

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In my speech at the opening of the September Session I apprised Hon'ble Members of the notable success achieved by the Army authorities under the direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in reducing the cost of Defence ; and I then indicated that the limits of retrenchment had almost, if not quite, been reached. Since then, as part of His Excellency's schemes for economy, we have been compelled to disband certain famous units, whose long and distinguished records of service must command our admiration and respect. It is with the deepest regret that I have seen the names of the Pioneer Regiments disappear from our Army List. but I have no doubt that the traditions that they have created will be worthily maintained by those of the *personnel* who are being transferred to other units of the Army.

Another measure that you will shortly have to consider is one that aims at reducing the cost of the Auxiliary Force. Our thanks are due to the units concerned for the spirit in which they have accepted the need for economy ; and I think I can assure them that the measures we intend to introduce will not prejudice the efficiency of the Force as a whole.

I expect Hon'ble Members remember the several occasions on which I have emphasised the determination of my Government not to relax the measures in force against civil disobedience so long as the circumstances exist which make them necessary. I am glad to think that not only has that policy had the anticipated effect of reducing still further the proportions of the civil disobedience movement, but that it has commended itself to the judgment of an ever-increasing number of moderate men, who realise the harm done to the political and economic interests of the country by the disastrous policy pursued

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by the Congress. In order to prevent a recrudescence of the civil disobedience movement, it was necessary for my Government to ask the Legislature to strengthen the general law by the inclusion of a considerable number of the provisions of the consolidated Ordinance, which expired at the end of December. It is an invidious task for a Legislature to enact special, even though temporary, measures of this character, and it cannot be expected that a Legislature will shoulder that responsibility unless it is convinced of the reality of the menace from which the country requires to be protected. The experience, however, of the last few years has made that menace too plain to be ignored, and not only the Central Legislature, but the Legislatures in all those Provinces where the civil disobedience movement has been most intense, have with no uncertain voice given to the Governments the powers whereby the forces of disorder can be kept in check and to the country the prospect of a steady return to peaceful conditions. The Acts which are now on the Statute Book will not be permanent, but will be in force during the difficult period of transition from the present to the new constitution, when there is a special risk of certain elements in the population trying to substitute the methods of revolution for those of constitutional and orderly progress. I trust that when the period for which these Acts will remain in force has expired, those, in whose hands the power will then rest, will find themselves able safely to discard them, and that the threat which direct action presents to the evolution of constitutional self-government will have been destroyed. I regret that there are not as yet any open signs of a recognition on the part of the leaders of the civil disobedience movement of the harm their policy has caused to the country. Though their efforts to revive enthusiasm meet with little success, they still remain pledged to that policy. I am firmly convinced, however, that the march of events will gradually carry

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them further and further away from the sterile methods of negation and obstruction, and that in spite of themselves they will find that they are caught up in the living forces of constructive politics which the near approach of the new constitution is releasing on all sides.

I must refer once more to the sinister terrorist movement in Bengal. Shortly after I last addressed the Assembly, two serious outrages occurred, the dastardly attack on the Railway Institute at Pahartali, near Chittagong, and the second attempt, fortunately again unsuccessful, against the life of Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the *Statesman*. Since then there has, I am glad to say, been some improvement in the situation. The Bengal Legislative Council have given the Bengal Government all the powers for which they have asked, and have passed a special Act aimed at the suppression of terrorist outrages, and a further Act which enhances the punishments for offences in connection with fire-arms and explosives, and, it is hoped, will operate as a deterrent to those who, either to assist the terrorist movement or merely for gain, smuggle arms into the Presidency. The despatch of troops to the Province has also had a reassuring effect on the loyal population, and I believe has helped to convince the anarchical elements that Government are prepared to use all their powers to stamp out this evil. But it is not merely by arrests and police measures that the movement can be eradicated. The Members of this Assembly have recognised that much can be done, by influencing public opinion, to warn the youth of Bengal against allowing themselves to become entangled in murderous conspiracies, dangerous to their country and ruinous to themselves. And I hope I am not too sanguine in thinking that I detect signs that public opinion is ranging itself in a more practical way against the doctrines that lead these young men astray, and that there is a growing recognition that the success

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of these methods of terrorism would be fatal to the hopes of peaceful progress in the Province.

Hon'ble Members will doubtless have studied, with care and with interest, the reports as they appeared day by day in the Press of the proceedings of the Third Round Table Conference which concluded just before Christmas. As on the previous occasions my Government have made arrangements to bring out an Indian edition of the valuable reports which represent the labours of the Conference. I understand that copies are now available and have been supplied to all Members of the House.

Hon'ble Members will not expect me to review in any detail the work done by the Conference ; but I may be permitted to pass on some of the general impressions it has left on my mind. From accounts reaching us a signal feature was the determination of all who participated in the deliberations, whether on the British or on the Indian side, to get to grips with the difficult problems with which they were confronted and hammer out practical solutions calculated to carry with them the greatest common measure of consent. I have been impressed by the workmanlike way in which one complicated subject after another was taken up and discussed, and the conclusions reached expeditiously recorded for future use and guidance.

My next impression is of the general good-will which is so clearly seen to have animated the discussions. Even where differences of opinion have remained, mutual respect for views strongly felt has asserted an influence which is itself of good augury for the future.

My last and strongest impression is of work well done and another milestone behind us on the road of constitutional advance. There is no tarrying on that road. Steadily and surely the march to Federation proceeds.

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Since their return from England I have taken the opportunity to meet individual delegates in order to place myself in direct touch with their views. From remarks they have made to me it is clear that the personal contacts they established at home with members of the British delegation have left them in no doubt of the evident intention of His Majesty's Government to press on to a conclusion the great work to which they have set their hand. There is one passage in the speech of the Secretary of State at the conclusion of the Conference to which I would particularly refer. You will remember that some pressure was put on the Secretary of State by members of the Indian delegation to enter a definite date in the Bill at which time the Federation should come into being. The Secretary of State explained the grave difficulties in the way of that suggestion, but gave two pledges, the importance of which has, I feel sure, not been lost on public opinion in this country. In the first place the Secretary of State declared that it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to inaugurate any kind of provincial autonomy under conditions which might leave Federation to follow on as a mere contingency in the future. In the second place, speaking not only for the British Government, but for the British delegation as a whole, he stated that between now and the passage of the Bill His Majesty's Government would do everything within their power to remove any obstacles that may at present stand in the way of the Federation coming into being at as early a date as possible. These assurances were given as a declaration publicly made of the course His Majesty's Government have set themselves to follow.

Let us then pause for a moment and take stock of the position. The series of three Round Table Conferences has completed the period of preparation. It now lies with His Majesty's Government to place their proposals before

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Parliament. The broad lines of their programme are already known to you. They intend without loss of time to embody their scheme of constitutional reform in what is commonly described as a White Paper for presentation to Parliament. The White Paper, though not itself a Bill, will contain the definite proposals of His Majesty's Government. The public memory is sometimes short, so I take the liberty of reminding Hon'ble Members of the reasons given for the procedure contemplated. As the Secretary of State has said, it has been the intention of successive Governments that a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament should be called upon at some stage to examine the proposals for constitutional reform. In recommending to Parliament that this important task shall be performed before any Bill is introduced, His Majesty's Government (and here I am quoting the words used by the Secretary of State last year) hope to facilitate Indian co-operation and ensure its effective influence in what is probably the most important stage in the shaping of the constitutional reform and at a time before irrevocable decisions are taken by Parliament. The procedure Parliament will follow, once the White Paper has been presented, is of course a matter for Parliament itself to decide ; but I have no doubt that the Secretary of State will shortly make clear the exact intentions of His Majesty's Government as regards the lines of future procedure and I am confident that places will be found for some representatives of the Indian Legislature among the persons to be called into consultation with the Joint Select Committee. In the meantime I disclose no secrets when I say that the present is a period of considerable official activity both in the India Office and here in the departments of my Government in completing material required for inclusion in the White Paper. I can understand the impatience of those who wish to see the White Paper and study its contents. It may be expected to give a complete picture

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of the constitution His Majesty's Government have in mind, both for the form of government in the Provinces, and for the Federal Government at the Centre proclaiming in its shape and composition the essential unity of this great country. Pardon me if I remind Hon'ble Members that the preparation of a document of such transcending importance requires the closest care and attention and that this brief interval, I can give Hon'ble Members the assurance that it is only a brief interval, after the conclusion of the Conference is essential to enable the task to be well and truly done.

There is one step of vital importance in connection with the new constitution with which all of you, gentlemen, as Members of the Indian Legislature will be directly concerned. I allude to the setting up of a Reserve Bank. I need not repeat the statements of the Secretary of State in his reported speeches at the Conference on this matter, but you will appreciate from them that it will be necessary to pass a Reserve Bank Bill during the months which will now intervene before the inauguration of the new constitution. I trust that we shall find ourselves in accord with you on all the main conditions necessary for the creation of a sound and independent Bank, and I hope that it will be possible to make known to you before the end of this Session the programme for procedure in this matter.

As regards finance, I have some matters of interest to bring to your attention. So far as the Budgetary position is concerned I do not propose to anticipate the statement to be made in four weeks time by the Finance Member. But, as you know, important transactions have been proceeding recently as regards the public debt, and I think it may be appropriate if I take this occasion to tell you something of my Government's plans and expectations in this field. In all that we are doing now we have one

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desire to prepare for the new Government measures for providing more accurate statistical information, and for evolving a co-ordinated economic policy. I hope that we shall shortly be able to make known certain plans in this connection which are now under our consideration. At the moment I wish to call your attention to one particular matter on which we are taking action which is an important illustration of the work which requires to be done in this field. Communications and transport are of vital importance in the development of every country, but more especially to a country so vast as India. The competition of road and rail transport has produced acute problems in many countries, and, although in India these problems are not yet so acute as in some other continents, it is essential that a properly co-ordinated plan should be prepared if we are to avoid the serious difficulties which are being faced elsewhere. A valuable report on this subject has just been completed for the Government by two expert officers and we propose as soon as possible after the conclusion of this Session to hold a conference at which all Provincial Governments, the Railway Board, and certain unofficial organisations will be represented. This conference will deal with questions such as the co-ordinated development of roads and railways, the methods by which such development may be financed, the taxation of motor transport and other kindred matters. It is a particularly appropriate occasion for the discussion of these questions, because after a long period of restriction in public expenditure we are now, I hope, approaching times, when, aided by the consolidation of our financial position and the improvement of our credit to which I have already referred, and with prospects of cheap money, we may be able to initiate plans which will not only permanently improve the economic productivity of the country, but in their execution help to set money in circulation which is so necessary in the present depression.

*Deputation of the Zemindars of Agra Province and British
Indian Association of Taluqdars of Oudh.*

In leaving you to your duties I earnestly pray that sound judgment and a desire for mutual understanding and good-will may characterise this Session of the Legislature and may thus carry India further forward to the fulfilment of her legitimate aims and aspirations.

DEPUTATION OF THE ZEMINDARS OF AGRA PROVINCE AND BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF TALUQDARS OF OUDH.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the Zemindars of Agra Province and the British Indian Association of Taluqdars of Oudh at The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 23rd February 1933 and replied in the following terms :—

23rd February
1933.

Gentlemen,—I have listened with the greatest interest to the address which you the Members of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association and the British Indian Association of the Taluqdars of Oudh have presented to me. Your two Associations jointly represent the great landholding interests in the United Provinces. Both have played a prominent part in the public life of the Province and can look with pride on service gladly and generously given for the common good.

Now that we stand on the threshold of far-reaching changes in the system of government, it is only natural and right that you should interest yourselves to ensure that the changes made should not prejudice the great interests you represent, and let me assure you that, having been a landowner myself in my own country, I fully sympathise with your anxieties with regard to the future. In the circumstances, I have been only too glad to give you this opportunity to come and let me know from your own lips exactly the matters to which in the new order of things you will attach importance.

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I notice in the first place that you devote considerable space in your address to the extent of your special representation in the new legislatures as a matter on which you have strong feelings. I do not propose to go back in any detail over past discussions of this question ; but I recall the importance given to the same topic in the address pressed in 1930 by a deputation of the All-India Landholders to my predecessor Lord Irwin. The particular request you now make is that in the new Legislative Council of the United Provinces the number of special landholders seats should be increased from six to twelve. You also ask for adequate representation in the Federal Legislatures.

As you are aware, His Majesty's Government are now seized of the whole question of constitutional reform, central and provincial. After prolonged discussion in a series of Round Table Conferences, His Majesty's Government are now preparing proposals which within the course of the next few weeks they will present in the form of a White Paper to Parliament. It is intended that the proposals put forward by His Majesty's Government will first be subjected to the scrutiny of a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, and finally Parliament itself will undertake the responsibility of securing their legislative enactment.

You will readily understand that, while this is the position, I cannot give you anything in the nature of definite replies to your questions either on the subject of your future representation in the legislatures, or on the other points relative to the new constitution which you raise in your address. I have, however, briefly indicated the process by which these and all constitutional questions will be brought under Parliamentary discussion in order to assure you that decisions will not be hastily taken

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and that full opportunity will be given for the views of different interests to be heard and appreciated. Since no decisions have yet been taken, I cannot tell you whether room can be found for a representative of the landholders to be included among the Indian representatives invited to confer with the Joint Select Committee ; but I can assure you that if for any reason this is not found possible I shall press very strongly that you should be given the fullest opportunity for which you ask to lead your own evidence before that body.

My remarks are not of course confined to your representation in the legislatures. The same process of Parliamentary discussion relates also to such matters as the safeguarding of your proprietary rights and the establishment of a Second Chamber in the United Provinces. I can and will do my part in making your views fully known to the Secretary of State. You on your part need have no fear that you will lack opportunity to make your views known to Parliament. On one point only I feel that I owe it to you to express a caution. Your representation in the provincial legislatures at its present figure without proportionate increase was made the subject of decision by His Majesty's Government in the course of their Communal Award under which the allocation was settled of each seat in the legislature of each province. If you will read the fourth paragraph of the statement attached to that decision you will observe that His Majesty's Government are unwilling to reopen a matter which for them is now closed except in the special circumstances therein indicated.

Gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure to meet you and hear your views, and I trust that my reply may have made clear to your minds the situation in regard to those

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matters in which you are naturally deeply concerned. You come of a class from which the country may well find its natural leaders. I am sure I may rely on you to play as great a part in the new conditions of the future as you have played in the more familiar conditions of the past.

DEPUTATION OF THE SRI BHARAT DHARMA
MAHAMANDAL.

27th February 1933. A deputation of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal waited on His Excellency the Viceroy at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 27th February and read the following address :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the representatives of the all-India Sanatanist Association—Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, beg to express our deep gratitude to Your Excellency, the highest representative of our beloved King-Emperor, for sparing time to receive our deputation.

2. The saints and savants connected with this religious Association pray at the outset to the Almighty Father of All to bless Your Excellency with long and happy life ; and they further pray :—

(a) May Your Excellency's rule over this holy land treasuring up spiritual culture meet with success and establish affectionate relations between England and India.

(b) May Your Excellency discover the root causes of the present deplorable unrest, disruption of social orders, leading to Godless pursuits by both men and women and gradual disappearance of the sense of reverence for all classes of elders—the great evils that are dangerous alike to the rulers and the ruled.

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(c) May Your Excellency be able to maintain firmly and uninterruptedly the glorious and wise policy of the mighty British Empire—the policy of non-interference with religious beliefs and sacred social orders of the people of this land of religions and thus keep strong and alive the happy and cordial relations between India and England which the “Karmas” of both the nations have established in the interest of humanity and peace.

(d) May Your Excellency's government realise that the preservation of good government, law and order based on justice and truth can only be achieved through firm faith in Divine guidance which under the present system of Godless education has been disappearing steadily and unchecked all over the world.

3. The basic principles of the creed of the Sanatanists who form the bulk of the population of India and the eternal creed, which have so successfully stood the hardest tests of both the ancient and modern history, are, among others :—

(a) Faith in the existence of the highly occult world behind this mortal world ;

(b) Faith in the King as responsible representative of the Devas—the high Governors of the occult world and therefore protector of the people and defender of their religion.

(c) Faith in the Divine universal Law of Karma, *i.e.*, of actions and re-actions of individuals and of nations which guide their destinies ;

(d) Faith in hereditary caste system and stages of life established on the principles of birth-right and purity of physical and super-physical bodies through finer forces of nature derived from Shuddha-ashuddha viveka—the so-called touchability and untouchability ;

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(e) Faith in the transmigration of Souls and cycle of births and re-births, working under the Divine law of Karma ;

(f) Faith in the sanctity of women based on their Satitwa, i.e., the unique self-dedication of an extreme nature for preserving the purity and spirituality of the pre-historic race ; and

(g) Tolerance and catholicity in respecting beliefs of other creeds of the worlds as so many different paths to reach the Same One Goal—THE OMNIPRESENT ALMIGHTY GOD—and never to interfere with their observances.

4. Having a firm faith in the above mentioned creed, in the principle of evolution through births and re-births, in social order based on hereditary rank and privileges acquired through actions of present and past existences, and in the mighty occult organisation guiding the destiny of this world, the spirit and life of the Sanatanists is quite different from those of other communities in India and their creed is essentially different from other old or new creeds of the country. According to their creed, training and nature, they give religion the foremost place in their life and according to the injunctions of their Shastras they are friendly towards others devoted to the uplift of humanity by their sacrifice and all-embracing catholicity and loyalty to the King, looking to their Sovereign as the Agent of High Occult Governors to protect the religion and socio-religious orders of all his subjects. We have always been in favour of peaceful evolution and since the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto, we have in our own way been approaching the highest authorities of the country and have invariably received kind assurances. We now beg to submit that from such

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a worthy, learned, experienced, strong-minded and far-seeing Representative of King-Emperor as Your Excellency is, this Central All-India Association of the Sanatanists cherishes the hope of realising its long-sought for prayers, which may be specified as follows :—

(A) That India is the land of religions and that the religion and religious sacraments of its inhabitants, so dear to them, may not be interfered with under any circumstances ; and may Your Excellency kindly do all that is needful for a clear recognition of this principle in the coming constitution of India ;

(B) That the Sanatanists who at all times have been loyal to their beloved Emperor and respected law and order look to the Government for the protection of their religion, their sacraments and their socio-religious order (Varnashrama) and expect that a wise farsighted and just ruler like Your Excellency would vouchsafe them, the protection they have always enjoyed under the aegis of the benign British Government ;

(C) That the present system of education being divorced from religion is producing a most baneful effect on the minds of the rising generation and we respectfully beg to draw Your Excellency's attention to what Lord Irwin, Your Excellency's predecessor, asserted in reply to our representation by stating that " The object of all true education is to build character, and character ultimately depends upon the moral sanctions which a man or woman accepts as final in his or her daily life. Such sanctions are found most surely in religion, and if we neglect the place of religion in education, we are rejecting the most powerful instrument to assist us in our work." So practical facilities for religious training and spiritual culture of all communities of this vast Empire be given for permanent peace and safety of the Empire.

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The Aryamahila Hitakarini Mahaparishad co-operating with Mahamandal have made a small beginning by establishing an academy for the training of women as teachers and preachers. For men it is extremely urgent to bring out large numbers of religious preachers and teachers. For more than a quarter of a century the Mahamandal in its own humble way has been training such teachers who are doing useful work in all parts of the country. But the present condition of the country imperatively demands the services of a very large number of such trained teachers and this demand can easily be met through the help of the Government Sanskrit College here, which is an institution of purely Sanatanist type, whereas the discipline is conformable in all respects to the Dharma Shastras as laid down by Manu and which was established mainly for the preservation and cultivation of the Sanskrit literature and religion of that nation (the Sanatanists) at this centre of their faith and the common resort of their tribes. (*Vide* pages 1 and 4 sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshala.)

We hope Your Excellency, who has a wide experience of the country and who had been at its helm for not less than 15 years, will not lose sight of the present moment and will consider with sympathy this proposal also which we intend to make through the proper channel to seek Your Excellency's patronage towards the imparting of religious education by permitting the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal to open classes to train more religious teachers and bring them out in required number under the supervision of the Principal of that institution in the Government Sanskrit College, Benares.

And

(D) That Your Excellency with your farsighted policy will carefully and anxiously consider the terms of legislative measures now pending or likely to be brought

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in future affecting the religion and sentiments of the Sanatanists and their socio-religious order before lending them your weight, lest the so-called reformers in their overzeal do any injury to our most cherished sentiments and traditions and thus disturb the peace and tranquillity of the land so dear to us. We would like to draw Your Excellency's attention to the very serious question of temple entry by the untouchables, which is being pressed in and out not by the so-called untouchables but by the present political leaders of the country, working under political motives, and the numerous endeavours that are being made by them in the legislatures by introduction of bills under different designations, *e.g.*, Bill for removal of untouchability, the Hindu Divorce Bill, the Hindu Marriage Bill, Temple Entry Bill, etc., etc. All these Bills if sanctioned by Your Excellency's Government will affect the Sanatanists' religious sentiments very seriously and may shake the foundation of their traditional loyalty. It would not be out of place here to recall the different proclamations from time to time issued by the late Empress Queen Victoria and subsequently by Heirs of the Royal Family to the effect of not interfering in religions of the country. We would therefore pray Your Excellency to be very cautious in such matters and be good enough to stop the mischief in the bud.

We beg most respectfully to repeat our prayers for Your Excellency's long life and happiness and conclude with hearty prayer for the long life and continued happiness of our beloved Emperor and for affectionate relations between England and India for the peace and tranquillity of both the nations and for spiritual advancement of the world.

His Excellency in reply said :—

Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure to me to have this opportunity to meet you here this morning represent-

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ing as you do the Members of the All-India Sanatanist Association—Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal—an organization which, as I understand it, contains within its membership gentlemen of the highest standing in the country, including great scholars and those who by their religious practice and precept are held in great reverence and respect by all who follow the Hindu faith.

It was a matter of great regret to me that I was forced to cancel a part of my tour last month as a result of which I was deprived of the pleasure of meeting you, as it had been arranged that I should do, in the historic city of Benares.

I deeply appreciate the loyal wishes with which you opened your address, and share to the full your hopes that the relations between England and India may be guided by a mutual affection and understanding which will ensure peace and contentment amongst our peoples. Let me also thank you for the beautiful casket, in which your address has been presented, depicting on its ten sides the divine Avataras of your religion.

If I turn to the important matters which you have raised in your address I would first say that it seems that you are apprehensive that your religion and religious customs and beliefs, to which you rightly attach so much importance, may not be given adequate protection under the new constitution and you ask that the principle of non-interference with religious matters should be fully recognised in the coming constitution of India. This question is one of the questions which has been considered by the Round Table Conference, though possibly it has received less attention than the more mundane matters with which the Conference has dealt. The matter, however, has not been lost sight of, for you are no doubt

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aware that the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference recommended that it should not be lawful for any legislation affecting the religion or religious rites of any class or community in a province to be introduced without the previous sanction of the Governor. A similar proposal in regard to bills in the federal legislature has also been made by the recent Round Table Conference which agreed that the previous sanction of the Governor-General should be required to bills affecting religion, religious rites or usages. This question was also raised by you, Maharajadhiraja, in the Plenary Session of the Second Round Table Conference, and the views which you then put forward on that matter have no doubt received the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government. The proposals of His Majesty's Government will shortly be made public when the White Paper is published, and it will then be open to you, if you consider that this principle of non-interference has not been adequately recognised, to represent your views before the Joint Select Committee, and I can undertake to forward to the Secretary of State for communication to that Committee any representation which you may wish to make.

You rightly comment on the necessity of combining religious and secular education, and I fully concur in the opinion of my predecessor Lord Irwin, which you have quoted, that if we neglect the place of religion in education, we are rejecting the most powerful instrument to assist us in our work. You have for many years been training teachers for this work. You are now trying to increase the output of teachers, and I am particularly glad to see that you have recognised the importance of establishing an academy for the training of women as teachers and preachers. You wish to make further developments of this work and suggest that in this matter

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the Government Sanskrit College of Benares can be of great assistance. Education is, as you know, a matter entrusted to Provincial Governments, and it is not possible for the Government of India to give direct assistance in any matter of this kind. I have no doubt, however, that the Government of the United Provinces are fully alive to the importance of the work which you have started and will give you such assistance as lies in their power. I cannot do more at this stage than undertake to bring your request to the notice of that Government. It will be for you to represent the matter in great detail to them.

Finally you refer to the Legislative measures now pending in the Central Legislature which aim at removing by means of legislation the disabilities from which certain untouchable castes suffer in regard to the question of temple entry. My views and those of my Government have already been made clear.

I held that the questions raised by the Bills which certain members desired to introduce in the Madras Legislative Council affected the religious beliefs and practices of the Hindu community generally. They could not therefore suitably be discussed in a Provincial Council and so I refused sanction to their introduction. At the same time I allowed similar Bills to be introduced in the Central Legislature, but in granting the sanction I made it clear that it was in my opinion and in the opinion of the Government of India essential that consideration of these proposals should not proceed unless they were subjected to the fullest examination in all their aspects not merely in the Legislature but also outside it by all who will be affected by them. This purpose could only be satisfied if the Bills were widely circulated and adequate time were given to all classes of Hindus to form and express their considered views. In this way opportunity

Banquet at Bhopal.

would be given to you to put forward your views and the arguments which you have placed before me before the general public and to convince those who now differ from you that these are matters which cannot suitably be decided by the legislature. I do not anticipate that such discussions need prove prejudicial to your religion ; with the constitutional developments to which we are now looking forward, it is inevitable that questions of all kinds will come more and more under public discussion. Those who stand upon the ancient ways must be prepared—and indeed there are signs that they are now prepared—to come forward into the arena of public discussion, and justify their views.

In conclusion let me thank you, gentlemen, once again for your good wishes and particularly for your prayer that I may be instrumental in establishing affectionate relations between my country and yours—an object for which I have always striven during the years that I have had the privilege of living in and working for India.

BANQUET AT BHOPAL.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

5th March
1933.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you most gratefully for the very cordial manner in which you have responded to the toast of the health of Her Excellency and myself which has been proposed for your acceptance in such charming and graceful language by His Highness tonight. I thank you, Sir,

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for all the generous remarks which you have made about us both and I am delighted to feel that at long last we find ourselves enjoying your hospitality in Bhopal. And I assure you, Sir, that our presence here recalls the happiest recollections to our minds of our first visit to your State—of the valued friendship which we had for many years with that wonderful Lady, your Mother, who, as a Ruler, held a unique position in India and whose wise and sympathetic administration of her people will never be forgotten by Your Highness' faithful and loyal subjects in Bhopal. I can recollect another and a rather more domestic matter in connection with that visit to which you have already referred and I wish to develop more fully your remarks on that matter. Your Highness, I think I am right in saying that my wife held in her arms the bride of today when she was only a week old, and this memory gives an added pleasure to our visit by the fact that we are both able to give our blessing and wish all luck to a young lady whom we have known since she was a baby in arms. To Abida Begum and to the lucky bridegroom, the Nawab of Kurwai, Her Excellency and I with deepest sincerity wish everything of the best in what I trust may be a long, happy and successful married life. These two young people have both been born to great responsibilities ; and they will, I am sure, undertake them in the best and truest interests of their subjects whose welfare I am sure will always be their chief concern among all their many public activities.

Your Highness, you have made some very flattering remarks with regard to the married life of Her Excellency and myself and have suggested that from the wealth of my experiences I should give the young couple a word of advice as to how to be happy though married. This is indeed a difficult problem to deal with at any time and doubly more difficult for me in the presence of my wife.

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But might I make the following suggestion to Your Highness which might prove helpful to the young couple in the future. Let the bride have a short talk to Her Excellency and she will learn very quickly how completely to manage her husband ; let the Nawab come and have a word with me and I think I could explain to him how not to get into trouble with his wife. As a result of these talks and the good advice they will receive I should be full of confidence that their married life in future years will be as completely happy as mine has been since the day, a few years ago, when I was married.

The Nawab of Kurwai, the fortunate bridegroom whom we are about to welcome, comes of sturdy Afghan stock and his forebears were the Rulers of Kurwai within a few years of the founding of the Bhopal State. He has what I may be allowed to consider has been to him the advantage of a first class education in England, and he has held a Commission in the British Army. So we may all agree that he brings to his distinguished bride the greatest assets to make for her happiness. The two houses are of the same Afghan origin and their alliance must be a matter of mutual jubilation and congratulation. Rather than offer advice based on personal experience I will only say that from the core of our hearts Her Excellency and I hope that they will always be as happy and contented as we have been.

Your Highness, I have referred to my first visit to Bhopal when you were a young man under the guidance of your Mother. Let me turn to the time, when I came out to India as Viceroy two years ago, when I was fortunate enough to find you holding the high office of Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. In this way we came immediately into close contact over difficult questions regarding Federation and other momentous matters affecting your Order. I may say that I have had first-hand experience of Your Highness' indefatigable energy.

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In your efforts to help me you proved to be a most thorough and tireless worker and, if I may say so, these qualities have characterised the seven years of your rule. Under the close supervision which Your Highness has given to all the branches of your administration each and every department has shown a steady improvement in its work. At the same time we all know that Your Highness finds time to excel in the world of sport. In spite of enforced absence through multifarious duties and activities for over two years from first class polo you recently succeeded in leading to victory His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir's team in the Prince of Wales' Tournament at Delhi. I had the pleasure of watching the games and the feature that stamped Your Highness' play was an amazing sense of anticipation which resulted in your being in the right place to do the right thing at the right time. This asset has, I am sure, always stood you in good stead and will continue to be the basis of your sound administration.

The very generous concessions which Your Highness, following the noble traditions of your House, has announced on this happy occasion are all the more laudable when one considers the difficult time that all States and Provinces are passing through at present and they will, I am sure, prove a gesture to your people that will lead them to share your happiness to the full. I must also commend your decision to curtail unnecessary pomp and display in order to lessen the burden on your State—a decision which is entirely in keeping with your character.

Your Highness, I am indeed happy to know that I can count on your unfailing support in the big issues that still lie before us for I know it will prove a great factor towards their expeditious solution. Then let us hope that we shall be able to participate in the mere

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frivolous Conferences which you have predicted ; when we can give vent to our views on matters of less moment such as body line bowling and lifting the polo ball off a free hit at the opponent's goal.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must not keep you longer but I cannot conclude without thanking Your Highness very warmly on behalf of all your guests and, especially on behalf of Lady Willingdon and myself, for the extremely pleasant time you are giving us here. Our visit is perforce all too fleeting but you could not have done more for our comfort and enjoyment. Every one here must feel it is a truly memorable occasion and that it is as much a privilege as a pleasure to have taken part in this marriage ceremony of Abida Begum and the Nawab of Kurwai. In the years to come, for all of us, this day will ever remain a day of pleasant memories and happy recollections.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the long life of Their Highnesses the Nawab and Begum of Bhopal and to wish His Highness continued success in the administration of his important State.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE LADY WILLINGDON GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL AT DATIA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Lady Willingdon Girls' High School at Datia by Her Excellency on the 7th March :—

7th March
1933.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am extremely glad that it has now been found possible to allay the great disappointment which Her Excellency and I felt at having to cancel the tour we had arranged in January. Our visit to Datia is perforce a very fleeting one but we are particularly delighted to have this

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opportunity of renewing our old friendship with Your Highness, a friendship that dates back to the time when I was Governor of Bombay.

Before Her Excellency carries out the request that has just been made to her, let me say on her behalf and on my own how grateful we are to Your Highness for the cordial manner in which you have welcomed us to your State today ; our presence here calls to mind the long and happy personal relations which we can claim with Your Highness for many years which makes our visit here all the more delightful to us both. Let me thank Your Highness too for the kindly terms in which you have expressed your appreciation of such humble services as we have been able to render to this great country, and assure you that we consider it a great privilege to be here to assist in guiding India forward at this most interesting juncture to the great future that we all feel confident lies before her. For our part we wish to congratulate Your Highness heartily on the Silver Jubilee of your rule which has recently been celebrated. If we look back over the 25 years during which Your Highness has been guiding the administration of Datia, the retrospect is one that must be a source of highest satisfaction to Your Highness and to your people. Great progress has been made in all the important Departments of the State and the honour of the G. C. I. E., which was conferred upon Your Highness last June, is welcome evidence of the manner in which your loyal services are appreciated by His Majesty the King-Emperor. I also wish to commend the faithful assistance Your Highness has been given by your Chief Minister, Qazi Sir Aziz-ud-Din Ahmed, an able officer of wide experience and sound judgment.

The ceremony for which we are gathered here today is a happy illustration of the very deep interest which

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Your Highness takes in the welfare of your people. In the field of education Your Highness has shown yourself to be possessed of wide and liberal views; free and compulsory education has been established and now the State is to be provided with a High School for girls. I should like to say again how grateful we are for the honour Your Highness has bestowed on us by marking our visit in such a fitting manner. Her Excellency always has the welfare of the womanhood of India at heart and her work to further their interests is, if I may say so, unremitting. She is therefore delighted to accept the invitation Your Highness has extended to her today.

Her Excellency before laying the foundation stone said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very proud to think that this School, of which I am now going to lay the foundation stone, will bear my name. I fervently hope that when it is established it will prove a blessing to the people of Datia and I wish the Staff every success in the work that lies before them.

OPENING OF THE UHL RIVER HYDRO-ELECTRIC
UNDERTAKING AT LAHORE.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Uhl River Hydro-Electric undertaking at Lahore on the 10th March 1933 said :—

10th March
1933.

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang,—As I sat here this morning and listened to the detailed statement of the Chief Engineer, Mr. Thomas, and to your very interesting and inspiring account of the history of the inception and completion of this vast project, and the difficulties that have been overcome in securing the successful achievement of this great engineering work, my mind

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went back to a day about a year ago when I sat and heard rather similar speeches made by those who were chiefly responsible for the creation of that huge project, the Sukkur Barrage scheme, with the details of which I had something to do when I was Governor of Bombay and which was successfully completed under the guiding hand and through the driving force of my successor there, Lord Lloyd.

You, Sir, today, just as they, when I opened the Sukkur scheme, have expressed yourself in terms of justifiable pride and satisfaction at the completion of this great project, and my first duty is very warmly to congratulate you as Minister in charge of this great work. and my second, very specially to congratulate all those from the highest to the lowest, who in their executive capacity, after many years of untiring devoted labour, have successfully finished their tremendous task which is bound to stimulate by the supply of cheap power industrial development in this Province, and to give the advantages of modern amenities of life and comfort to thousands of your people by the supply of electric lighting to their homes. I feel it a great privilege and pride to have been invited here today to perform the principal part in this ceremony by touching that lever, of which you have spoken, and letting loose this electric power for the service of man.

When I was Governor-General of Canada, I had many opportunities of seeing for myself the great hydro-electric undertakings which have been carried out in the Dominion where more than 250 million pounds are invested in central electric power stations. In the Province of Ontario alone there are at present in use nearly 40 water-power plants generating about 1½ million horse-power. Electrical development proceeded at first

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in annual steps of about thirty to forty thousand horse-power, but latterly at the rate of about one hundred thousand horse-power yearly.

By harnessing water Canada has facilitated the growth of her large industries and in the comparatively short period of ten years has altered her whole commercial outlook. Indeed it may be interesting to let you know that during my time of office there, Canada with only ten million people had become the fifth trading nation of the world.

About four years ago the Government of the Irish Free State completed their first great hydro-electric scheme on the river Shannon and I am credibly informed that so rapid has been the development of the demand for electricity there that already they are engaging on its enlargement.

Here in India, during many years of service with wide opportunities of seeing all parts of the country, I have been tremendously impressed with the great irrigation schemes which have minimised the danger of famine and protected our people from the oppression of starvation. While I think I am right in saying that the great Tata firm of Bombay were the first to initiate hydro-electric enterprise in India, and that there are other hydro-electric projects already in existence or under completion in the South—perhaps I might refer particularly to the Pykara project which was started when I was Governor of Madras—you can now claim in the Punjab that you have initiated probably the greatest hydro-electric project in the country. And it is with a feeling of great pride that I can claim that security from famine and great power schemes for industrial development have been largely produced through the brains and engineering skill of my countrymen or by men who came of British stock,

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and that whatever our detractors may say, we are handing over to the responsibility of the new Governments when the reforms come into being, an India more easy to administer, more certain of development than it was when we took over its trusteeship many years ago.

I mention these instances of electrical development by Governments or local administrations for two reasons. Firstly, lest there may be some local tendency to regard a hydro-electric undertaking as too advanced or new fangled, and secondly, lest it may be thought venturesome or speculative. While it would not be right for me to indulge in prophecy with regard to the Uhl River Undertaking, this much I can say, the coming age will be one of electricity and the uses to which electricity can be put are constantly widening. Wherever electricity is newly introduced the benefits which follow in its train become so quickly obvious, that it seems to create its own market. I do not wish to imply that it is superfluous to trouble about finding consumers but I do think that there are good general grounds for a healthy optimism.

When we are on the eve of constitutional Reforms, it is, I think, well to reflect on the great assets which the newly constituted Punjab Government will inherit from its predecessors. Those assets include the largest system of canal irrigation in the world which not only brings in approximately half the revenue of the Province, but which has also added immensely to the welfare of the people and the importance of the Punjab as a source of agricultural products ; a carefully thought out system of arterial and intra provincial roads ; a well developed scheme of forest conservancy and production ; and lastly this new source of energy in this great hydro-electric project which it is my proud privilege to open today. I sincerely hope that when the new Government comes into power, it will appreciate the efforts of its predecessors

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and will carry on the good work with a view to promoting industry and ameliorating the lot of the people.

I am glad that you saw fit to include in your address those passages from a note by the late Colonel Battye. They show the spirit which dominated his enthusiasm and the high ideals he held. I feel a keen sense of loss that he is not here to rejoice with us today on the successful culmination of this great achievement.

It has also given me pleasure to hear your appreciation of the courteous co-operation of His Highness the Raja of Mandi, and I can well realise the encouragement which has resulted from the visits to the works of His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency and his timely recognition of the labours in tunnelling.

And here, ladies and gentlemen, I feel you will appreciate a brief digression from the subject of hydro-electricity if I take this opportunity of saying a few words about His Excellency, your distinguished Governor, whose services the Punjab is shortly going to lose. We all know in what great esteem he is held by the people of this Province and this country for he has made his mark on India and established a firm place for himself in the history of Indian administration. You must all be proud to feel that he started his service in your Province and quickly acquired a high reputation as a district officer. From that position he has risen to the most responsible position he can hold owing to qualities we must all admire. As administrator he realises to the full what is surely the first essential to one who deals with politics, that politics are essentially a human science whose subject matter is human beings. He has shown a shrewdness of judgment combined with a gift of appreciation of other standpoints than his own and this has won for him the confidence of all with whom he served. Above all things he has entered into the minds of the

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people he has governed. He has guided the affairs of the Punjab wisely through anxious times, and to me as Viceroy he has given unremitting support. I know we one and all, with hearts full of gratitude for his help and of sorrow on his departure, wish him a speedy recovery from that ill-health which to our misfortune has accelerated the close of his eminent career.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now have great pleasure in declaring the Uhl River Hydro-Electric Undertaking open.

OPENING OF THE WILLINGDON HOSPITAL FOR
WOMEN AT LAHORE.

11th March
1933.

Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon in opening the Willingdon Hospital for Women at Lahore, on the 11th March 1933, made the following speech :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Thank you very much indeed for the sincere welcome you have given me. I find it extremely difficult to express adequately the pride and gratitude I feel today in accepting the invitation that has just been extended to me on behalf of Lahore and the Punjab to open this great building that is to bear my name. You have referred in very kindly terms to the services I have happily been able to render for the womanhood of India. In response, let me assure you that you have today greatly encouraged me in my work by associating my name with such a splendid hospital, fitted up, as His Excellency has just told us, with so many appliances which modern science now provides to alleviate the lot of those who are in need of medical care and comfort.

The picture His Excellency the Governor has drawn proves what a long-felt gap this hospital will fill, and from the account of the special features of its equipment, I am confident that this gap could not have been filled

Opening of the Willingdon Hospital for Women at Lahore.

with greater care and forethought. In fact I think we can one and all endorse His Excellency's opinion that the hospital is unique in as far as hospitals in India are concerned. Approximately 12 lakhs of rupees have been expended to make the project perfect and up-to-date in every practical detail and the unqualified success that has attended the execution of the complicated plans merits our heartiest congratulations to all concerned. Even a Health Centre to train nurse "dais" has been provided thanks to the munificence of Rai Bahadur Amar Nath. But were I now to extol all the outstanding qualities of the scheme my deep interest and enthusiasm would probably carry me right beyond the limits of the time for which I am expected to speak,—so I think it would be wise to reserve my remarks till I have the pleasure of going round the building myself !

The number of cases treated during 1932 is proof of the solid foundation upon which this hospital will start its career of utility. It will, I am sure, serve other than purely local needs and, as years go by, its sphere of influence will increase steadily. For my part, I wish it every possible success in the future—indeed, I feel that its future is assured and I am certain that it will play a leading part in creating greater happiness for the women and children of Lahore and the Punjab. When I look back, as I often shall, in years to come on this visit to Lahore, I shall never fail to think of this building that bears my name and of the work it will be doing in alleviating sickness and suffering amongst those who seek succour within its walls.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the greatest possible pleasure in declaring the Willingdon Hospital for Women open.

DEPUTATION OF ORTHODOX HINDUS.

17th March 1933. His Excellency the Viceroy received an address presented by a deputation of Orthodox Hindus at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 17th March 1933 and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I have listened with much interest to your address in which you have frankly and vigorously put forward your considered views on both the question of legislation in regard to Temple-entry and the wider question of the constitutional reforms. In regard to the former question, your views are very similar to those recently put before me by the All-India Sanatanist Association, the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, and like that Association, you represent the orthodox section of the Hindu community which is strongly opposed to the movement recently started to introduce changes in the religious usages of the Hindus. Like that Association, your Association, the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, counts among its members those who by their religious practice and precept are held in great respect by all who follow the Hindu faith and whose opinions in these matters are entitled to the most careful consideration. On this important question of legislation regarding Temple-entry it is not, I am afraid, possible for me to add to the statements which have been published by my Government or to the reply which I gave a short time ago to the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. As I explained on that occasion, in granting sanction to the introduction of these Bills in the Central Legislature. I made it clear that it was in my opinion and in that of the Government of India essential that consideration of the Bills should not proceed unless they were subjected to the fullest examination in all their aspects not merely in the Legislature, but also outside by all who will be affected by them. In saying that they should be examined

Deputation of Orthodox Hindus.

both within and outside the Legislature, I have met to a large extent your specific request that the Bills should be circulated not merely for eliciting "public opinion" in the ordinary sense, but for eliciting specially the opinion of the recognised religious institutions and associations of the community whose religion is sought to be affected by these Bills. This has always been my intention and that of my Government, and I can give you the assurance that if the Legislature decides to proceed with the Bills by circulating them to elicit public opinion, I will issue instructions to all Local Governments to see that all classes of your community are given a full opportunity of recording their views and, in particular, that the opinions of the heads of religious institutions and the views of religious associations are obtained.

You yourselves, though regretting that religious customs which you hold so dear should form the subject of political controversy, recognise, I think, that it is inevitable under modern conditions for these questions to come under discussion, and it is in recognition of this fact that your Association was started five years ago, pledged to the attainment of Swaraj on lines consistent with the ideals of your religion. You have already largely developed your organisation by establishing branches in all the Provinces and by enlisting in this work the recognised religious heads of your community. This is evidence of your realisation of the fact that with the introduction of democratic institutions, the feelings and wishes of the people can only be interpreted and made effective through systematic organisations. It is a lesson that must be learnt by all those who aspire to make their influence felt in the new constitution.

I come now to the question of the constitutional reforms. Tomorrow will be published the White Paper

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containing the detailed proposals framed by His Majesty's Government, and you will then see to what extent they meet your views. I would, however, remind you that the main outlines of the proposed constitution have already been accepted by His Majesty's Government after lengthy consultations with the delegates from British India and the States. The final decision rests with the British Parliament, and, as you know, it is proposed to set up a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to examine in detail the proposals that will be contained in the White Paper. On many important points you have your own views, and in particular you are concerned that the safeguards for your religion should be complete and satisfactory. You will not expect me to discuss in detail the views you have put forward, but I may say that I am in full sympathy with your desire that you should have adequate opportunity of representing your views when the Joint Select Committee is in session. As to the method by which this can most conveniently be done I can at present say nothing, but I will take steps to convey to the Secretary of State the nature of the representation you have made to me.

Gentlemen, I am very glad to have had the opportunity of meeting the Members of your organisation and I am grateful for the impressive manner in which you have placed your views before me.

BANQUET AT RAMPUR.

18th March
1933.

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur gave a Banquet in honour of His Excellency's visit to his State. In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Allow me to thank Your Highness for your charming and very cordial greeting to me today, and to express my very

Banquet at Rampur.

sincere regret that Her Excellency was unable to accompany me on this visit.

Your Highness, even though the better half of me is not here today, it is none the less a great pleasure to tear myself away even for only a few hours from White Papers and other matters of administrative concern at Delhi and to redeem my promise to pay a visit to Your Highness at Rampur, to feel that I am renewing an old friendship which I held for many years with Your Highness' Father and to have this opportunity of paying you a visit in your delightful and beautiful home.

I must admit that I was slightly envious when I heard Your Highness' remarks with regard to the first visit of a Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, to Rampur when it took no less than 20 days to come from Lucknow—not that I *prefer* travelling on an elephant to travelling in an Aeroplane—but I am envious for the reason that the Viceroy in days gone by apparently had the time at their disposal to tour and to pay visits at their will—a pleasure which is, sad to say, most certainly denied to the Viceroy of today.

Your Highness made a happy reference to the great traditions of staunch loyalty to the Crown and the Empire which have been maintained with ever-increasing strength by your forebears and in which you naturally feel a justifiable pride. I am confident that you will worthily uphold that tradition and that I can count on your co-operation in all difficulties, internal or external, small or great, which may arise and in which the assistance of your State may be sought.

I was very pleased to hear your account of the many improvements Your Highness has made in your State during the comparatively short time that you have been on the *Gaddi*. By your actions in this regard you have

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shown yourself fully worthy of the confidence bestowed on you when you were given your powers and I feel sure that by continued attention to the needs of your subjects you will do your utmost to retain that confidence. I must also congratulate Your Highness on the generous remissions of land revenue which you have recently made for they are clear evidence that you are thoughtful of the needs of the poorest amongst your people in these difficult times. My advice to Your Highness is that in considering schemes for the development of your State and the advancement of the welfare of your people, the wisest course is to temper enthusiasm with caution and insist on the exercise of wise economy. Times are bad—of that unfortunately there is no doubt—and it therefore behoves us all to control our expenditure within reasonable limits and to think warily before we embark upon new projects involving considerable outlay.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief spoke to me, after his recent inspection of your Army, in terms of high praise for the smart and efficient manner in which your troops were turned out, praise which I can fully endorse from what I have seen of them today. I am sure that, due to the personal interest which Your Highness takes, and to the support and guidance of Brigadier Campbell and the Military Advisory Staff, should an emergency call your Army to any theatre of War in the future it would acquit itself in a manner worthy of the noble traditions of your State.

I was particularly glad to hear Your Highness express your gratitude to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey for his assistance when you have consulted him. I consider that you are fortunate indeed to have such a wise counsellor, ready and willing, as I know he is, to help you with such problems as inevitably arise. I also appreciated your reference to Sir Charles Watson and the

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Political Agents with whom you have had dealings since your accession. Their chief wish has been to be of service to Your Highness and to the Government of India and it is a source of gratification to me to learn that in this they have achieved success.

I am grateful to Your Highness for having lent the services of your Chief Minister, Sahebzada Abdussamad Khan, as a Delegate to the Ottawa Conference and I am happy to think that my judgment in selecting him was not misplaced for, from all that I hear, the Indian Delegation worked splendidly together as a team and made a valuable contribution towards the success of that unique inter-Imperial Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health, long life and happiness of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi on the 20th March 1933 and opened the proceeding with the following address :—

20th March
1933.

Your Highnesses,—I welcome you today to the twelfth session of your Chamber since its inauguration in 1921. This is the second time I have had the privilege of presiding at your deliberations and in view of the important subjects which will come under discussion I look forward to it with lively and sympathetic interest. The adjectives, “momentous” and “critical”, are at times misused and have already been applied on more than one occasion to your Sessions. But who can deny that the happenings throughout the world and in India during the last twelve months have been of an unusual and striking character and the annual meeting of any Chamber, whose function it is to take stock of the existing

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position and to lay down plans for the future, must necessarily reflect these conditions. I am glad that Your Highnesses have realised this and have provided a full attendance for the Chamber Sessions.

One Member of the Chamber has passed away since we last met. His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur succeeded to his State over 65 years ago and had ruled it for more than 40 years. He attended the Conference of the Ruling Princes in 1917, but age and infirmity had prevented his joining at the Sessions of the Chamber itself since its inception. A man of lively mind and wide interests, he will be missed by those of his Brother Princes who knew him and I feel sure that you will all join with me in expressing sympathy with the bereaved family and in wishing happiness and prosperity to his successor.

We welcome for the first time to our Chamber His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur, who has now taken up the burden of his high responsibilities. I am sure that he will realise the value of his membership and will be a regular and active attendant at your Sessions.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, President of the State Council, Bhavnagar, was selected to be one of the Delegates of India to the meetings of the League of Nations Assembly held in 1932, this being the second occasion on which the Indian States have been represented at the League Assembly by a States Minister. I feel sure that Sir Prabhashankar Pattani worthily maintained the traditions and prestige of the States and I await with interest the record of the League proceedings which he will lay before the Chamber.

I would wish to mention also a measure shortly reaching completion which has always been in accord with the desires of this Chamber. During the past year

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arrangements have been in progress to bring into direct relations with the Government of India the remaining Indian States whose political relations have hitherto been conducted by the Bombay Government, and also those who have been in relations with the Governments of the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. I hope that the transfer may take place almost immediately and when it does, we shall have advanced a long way towards the completion of the policy recommended in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of some twelve years ago. It is a policy of whose soundness I have long been convinced and the impending constitutional changes made me determined that the practical difficulties, both administrative and financial, which have hitherto hindered its progress must be surmounted without delay. I would pay a tribute to the wisdom, sympathy and skill with which the Local Governments concerned have in the past guided and advised the States in their political relations and it is only the logic of events arising out of the impending constitutional developments and no failure on their part to discharge their responsibilities satisfactorily that has necessitated the change. Some of these States have made claims to be admitted to your Chamber as full members in their own right and these are being examined by a Committee which will I hope report to me shortly, and it may be that, as a result of their recommendations, I may feel it my duty to admit a certain number of them as additional full members of the Chamber ; I hope and believe that when I do so they will give an added weight to its deliberations and strength to the unity of the whole Order of Princes.

I wish to express my appreciation of the work done by His Highness the Chancellor and the Standing Committee Members during the year. Although the last Round Table Conference has to some extent interfered

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with the meetings of the Standing Committee, I have had many opportunities of availing myself of their advice and His Highness the Jam Sahib has always been ready to place his sound judgment and ripe experience at my disposal. During the unavoidable absence of the Chancellor in England, His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, as Pro-Chancellor, ably carried on the duties of the office in this country and for his readiness to come to Delhi at all times despite personal inconvenience, I owe him my warmest thanks. Although only one meeting of the Standing Committee could be held in February 1933, it was able to transact useful business and on several important subjects misapprehensions were cleared away and agreement was reached.

I come last to the all important question that must be exercising your minds, that of Federation and the Federal scheme. Although the White Paper containing the intentions and provisional proposals of His Majesty's Government has been in your hands for the last few days I cannot hope that it has as yet been possible for you to study it in sufficient detail to enable you to discuss specific aspects in the present sessions of the Chamber. But since I understand that some points are causing Your Highnesses anxiety I may be permitted to say a few words about them.

You have seen what is stated in paragraph 19 of the introduction regarding the allocation of seats in the Council of State among the States' Members. It gives considerable latitude for interpretation and I can assure you that the list put before you on the 14th instant was illustrative only and I and His Majesty's Government would welcome any reasonable amendments which may make it generally acceptable. For instance, there is in my opinion nothing to prevent any States that may wish

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to do so from suggesting that the seats allocated to them should be pooled and arranging together for the appointment of Joint representatives. Such a plan might indeed be valuable as the nucleus of a party machine to hold the States together in matters of common interest.

I would point out also that as made clear in paragraph 3 of the introduction it must not "be assumed that the present proposals are in all respects so complete and final that a Bill would contain nothing which is not covered by this White Paper", and if Your Highnesses still wish to urge that further points relating to safeguards or other matters should also be included it is open to you to have them represented before the Joint Select Committee.

I trust that this explanation may resolve some of your difficulties as you examine the White Paper. It represents the beginning of the last stage after three long years of mutual discussions and of a constructive effort in which the Princes of India and their Ministers have taken a full share. I would recall that it was the Princes who at the first Round Table Conference three years ago, by their expressed determination to join with British India in securing a real measure of progress for India towards responsible Government, made Federation a living idea and a practical possibility. There have been difficulties in the way but many of these have been resolved during the subsequent discussions and compromises have been effected. It would be idle to deny that all points have not proved susceptible of mutual agreement and some may have to be left to decision by His Majesty's Government. I would emphasise two points for your consideration in regard to such decisions by His Majesty's Government.

Firstly, if such decisions are to be fair to all parties they cannot accept the extreme view of any particular

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interest of section, and secondly, His Majesty's Government are concerned only in obtaining a fair and reasonable settlement. Their standpoint is absolutely impartial for they believe, as I do and as you do, that the best interests of India and the best interests of the Empire are identical. I would appeal to Your Highnesses therefore to keep this in mind and while you will no doubt wish to examine with the greatest care all the details of the scheme as they affect yourselves and the interests of your States, I feel sure that at the same time you will take a statesman-like view of the position and, where mutual agreement may not prove to be possible, will accept the decisions of His Majesty's Government in the spirit in which they will be given. At every stage Your Highnesses have been associated with producing the Federal scheme and while none of you are finally committed to it until you sign your Instruments of Accession, I am sure you will realise that all participation in this problem must necessarily exercise the spirit of compromise, in order to secure the ideal for which we are working, the federation of all parts of this vast country. I sympathise keenly with your doubts and difficulties, and as you gaze on a world where unrest and unsettlement is evident on all sides, where so much that has appeared unshakable has crashed to ruin, when the failings rather than virtues of all existing forms of Government are under review, you may well wish to pause and consider deeply which way safety and happiness lie. It is for you to decide. Disadvantages and dangers lie in all courses but they may be countered by prudence, foresight and courage. It is my own firm personal conviction that for the Indian States the balance of advantage weighs heavily towards accepting the Federal scheme and working it wisely and prudently. It appears to me to offer you great advantages and if you choose to exercise them you will have a weight and influence in the Federal bodies which will go far to

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ensure stability and ordered progress in India. In all matters not expressly ceded to the Federation you will attain what you have long desired—direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy—and the protection promised in your Treaties and Engagements has been reaffirmed in a manner which should satisfy the most doubtful amongst you. I have every hope and confidence that your deliberations will lead you to the same conclusion and that when Federation comes into being it will include within it the great majority of the Princes of India, determined to continue their steadfast loyalty to the Crown and to ensure the steady progress of their Motherland towards self-government.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN
RED CROSS SOCIETY.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at ^{22nd March} the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society on Wednesday, the 22nd March 1933 :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish in the first place to say how sincerely I share the sentiments of regret that have been expressed over the departure of Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith. For seven years he had been Chairman of the Managing Body of the Indian Red Cross Society and of the Executive Committee of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association. In addition he was also connected with many other philanthropic Institutions and was of great assistance to my wife in the administration of the Viceregal Funds. In all these offices he worked hard and enthusiastically.

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and I feel we owe him a lasting debt of gratitude for wise counsel willingly given. In his stead I have appointed Sir David Petrie whom we welcome in our midst today. I am confident he will give of his best to our work and prove a successful and popular leader.

We have listened with interest to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's review of the work of the St. John Ambulance Association. Times are hard, but in spite of this the Association has managed to increase its classes in first aid and home nursing which is a laudable achievement. I should like emphatically to endorse the appeal to all the Centres and also to the individual members of the Association to tackle the serious problem caused by the large increase in the number of traffic accidents. Its solution appears to lie mainly in the provision of more ambulances and in training more people in the art of first aid. Let us hope that next year's report may give concrete evidence of the response to this appeal.

On hearing Sir David Petrie's account of the activities of the Brigade during the last year, I was particularly impressed by the unlimited field of beneficent activity that lies before them. The enthusiasts in England apparently go so far as to think that members are conveniently placed in various parts of the country to deal with the dastardly outrages of tigers and snakes upon unfortunate humanity ! But, alas, the strength of the Brigade is now only 2,000 and though it may never reach numbers sufficient to meet the wishes of our supporters at home, I do fervently support the appeal of your Chairman that everything possible should be done to stimulate recruitment. We have seen what a lot can be done even by our present small band of workers. To them the greatest credit is due for the assistance they have

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rendered to the injured owing to accidents at crowded fairs and processions, and on account of communal rioting, and if only their numbers could be increased so that they could spread their beneficent activities over a much wider area, I am sure that such a development would be widely appreciated wherever new branches were established.

Today for the first time we welcome to our Annual Meeting the representatives of the Cadet Nursing Division; this is another happy illustration of the good work being done by the Association and the Brigade amongst our schools, and I trust that hereafter they will participate regularly at this annual gathering.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will now refer to the Indian Red Cross Report for the year 1932. The most pleasing feature is a considerable awakening of activity in the Indian States. Great work has been done in Mysore, independent Branches have been established at Travancore, Jodhpur and Kotah while the Gwalior Durbar has also made enquiries with a view to starting a Branch of its own. Their good example will, I hope, be followed by other States.

In British India also the movement has made great strides, notably in the United Provinces where no less than eleven more District Branches have been set up. In the Army much attention has been paid to Child Welfare work and several regiments have started their own centres with conspicuous success.

The statistics for the Junior Red Cross show a splendid increase in the number of members and their campaign to improve the health in schools is proving most valuable. It is impossible for me to enumerate or dilate upon all the main achievements of the Society for they cover such a large number of subjects including, as you

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may know, Disaster Relief, Publicity and Health propaganda, Assistance to Hospitals, Anti-Tuberculosis work, Assistance to invalided soldiers and a Maternity Bureau. I wish to thank those who have contributed so generously to the Red Cross funds and to sum up the year's work by saying that all concerned may take justifiable pride in the very satisfactory progress revealed by the report.

This year, I am sorry to say, we shall lose the services of three true friends through the departure of Sir Frederick and Lady Sykes and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency. In their Provinces they have worked devotedly to extend the sphere of influence of our two Societies and I am sure you will join me in thanking them for all they have done. I feel they will continue to watch our interests and help us whenever possible.

Before I close my remarks, I should like to leave the present and dwell for a few moments on the future with particular reference to the work of voluntary organisations like the Red Cross and the St. John Associations under the new conditions in India which will be created owing to the coming Constitutional Reforms.

The field of activity of such Societies is boundless in a vast country like this, especially in our villages, where a helping hand to improve their social conditions would do so much to give our people more happiness and comfort in their lives. This is a matter in which we can surely all unitedly combine and put aside entirely our communal and political differences.

And it is to the womanhood of this country I would especially appeal, whether they are temporarily or permanently resident here, for it is they who in my opinion

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hold the key to the further advance of the work of our humanitarian Societies. Don't please let it be thought that in making this remark I am suggesting that the men should do nothing. They should give all possible help, but in this particular matter I think that a lead from the ladies is essential to produce the best possible results. My hope is that with the increasing interest taken in all forms of education we may soon find many more women ready and willing to take up positions as Health Visitors. Doctors and Nurses.

Even now, as we all know, there are countless hospitals in this country without any nurses—in fact one usually finds a Sub-Assistant Surgeon in sole charge as no female staff is procurable to assist him. Some may say that this is due to the social system, but I would remind them that the work of the Red Cross Society in India concerns chiefly the welfare of her women and children, and for those who cannot perform public services training in Mothercraft and nursing is provided. Our present needs can ultimately be reduced to two basic requirements, namely, more opportunities to train workers and more money to bring this about. I sincerely trust that all here today and everyone with the social interests of India at heart will do their utmost to see that these requirements are met as soon and as far as possible. The work of the Society is indeed worthy of the good-will and liberal co-operation of all classes of the people of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen, Her Excellency has asked me to tell you how very sorry she is at being unable to attend this meeting. I also am sorry, for at functions of this kind I value her support more than ever. Let me assure you that her interest in your work and her desire to help you are as unflagging as ever.

DEPUTATION OF THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE
DEPRESSED CLASSES.

29th March
1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address presented by the leading members of the Depressed Classes at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 29th March 1933, and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I need hardly say that it is a very great pleasure to me to meet the members of this deputation of the so-called Depressed Classes, whose development and advancement have been, I think I can claim, one of my special interests during the years that I have been associated with administrative affairs in different parts of India, and I assure you that I have listened with much interest to the various points you have raised in your address.

Your address deals with the problem of the removal of the economic, social and religious disabilities under which you suffer. The problem has been frequently before me during the years I have spent in this country, and it is a matter of personal satisfaction to me that you remember and in your address recall the steps which I initiated when in Madras to recognise your claim to some form of political representation and to ameliorate your social and economic position by creating a special department to look after your interests. I am glad to be able to say that that work has been continued by successive Governments of Madras and that considerable sums have been spent by them in recent years to improve your economic position by the acquisition of land for house sites and for cultivation and by the provision of wells and drinking water facilities. Special efforts have also been made to develop co-operative societies for their benefit. These facts go to show that Government in the Province in which the problem is most acute are very

Deputation of the leading Members of the Depressed Classes.

much alive to your interests and realise fully the necessity of improving your economic position. There are other spheres in which all Local Governments have dealt with this problem ; in particular they have paid special attention to the improvement of educational facilities for members of your class. They have supplemented the work which is being done by voluntary agencies and have done what they can to ensure that pupils coming from your classes should receive equal opportunities of entering into, and equal treatment in, all public managed institutions. They have encouraged the entry of such pupils by various means, such as remission of fees, the award of scholarships and special supervision. In spite of the obstacles to be overcome, these measures have led to a large increase in the number of students.

I may quote two further instances to show the sympathetic attitude of Local Governments towards you. The Government of Bombay have recently issued a resolution on the recommendations of the Committee appointed to examine the special position of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes in that Province, and have detailed therein the action which they have taken and propose to take to secure the right of access of the members of the depressed classes to wells, schools, hospitals and dispensaries provided and maintained out of public funds. The Central Provinces Legislature have recently passed an Act, to which I have accorded my sanction, which makes it clear that all public places vested in or owned or maintained by the Local Government or local authorities shall not be closed to the use of any person by reason only of his caste or creed.

Turning now to another aspect of the problem, you have referred to the fact that I happened to be the first

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Governor to nominate members of the depressed classes to a Provincial Legislature. Both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have for some considerable time recognised the importance of securing adequate and suitable representation for the depressed classes both in Provincial Legislatures and in local bodies and have held the view that such representation is necessary for improving their position. A start was made under the Reforms Scheme of 1919 when seats were reserved in most Provinces for depressed class representatives to be filled by nomination. I need hardly remind you of the more recent discussions on this question or the very considerable provision made for the special representation of the depressed classes in the Communal Award of His Majesty's Government, a provision which has since been increased as a result of the agreement between your representatives and the caste-Hindus in the Poona Pact.

I have detailed at some length the action taken by His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and Provincial Governments for the improvement of your position economically and politically. I have done so because you appear to suggest that Government tend to take up an attitude of neutrality in this matter and do not give such active assistance as they might in the measures which you consider are required for your emancipation. Progress must no doubt be slow, but I think that if you consider this point you will recognise that there has been marked progress during the past ten years, and I trust there will be even more rapid progress in future under the new constitution. In the new conditions you, like other communities, will have to depend largely on your own efforts. It is for that reason that His Majesty's Government have devoted such special

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attention to securing through the representation allotted to you in the Legislatures that you should have full opportunities not only for making known your needs, but for exercising real political influence, so as to ensure that those needs are not overlooked.

You have referred at length, as is but natural, to the Temple-entry and Untouchability Bills, which at the moment are matters of such keen interest and controversy throughout the country. You regard the passing of these Bills into Law as a matter of the greatest importance, and you say that you cannot hope for permanent emancipation and betterment unless your status in the Hindu religion is improved. There are, I believe, others in your community who regard the policy hitherto pursued of concentrating on the removal of social, economic and educational grievances as calculated to yield more practical results for the uplift of the depressed classes than the indirect method of temple-entry.

Meantime the temple-entry question with all its implications and all its reactions will require the most careful examination by the Hindu community as a whole. You must be fully aware that there is a strong and widespread opposition to these Bills which, it is contended, involve interference with the religious beliefs and practices of orthodox Hinduism. It is the clear duty of my Government to ensure that the Legislature should not proceed with such proposals, unless the fullest opportunity is given to those affected to form and express their considered views upon them. It may well happen that you will find, as discussion proceeds, that more will be secured by the methods of persuasion and agreement, than by endeavouring to force through a measure of legislative compulsion in the face of strong and sincere

Opening of the Conference on Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Education.

opposition. However that may be, I am sure that you will agree with me that full discussion and examination are essential.

I have thought it well to explain to you in some detail my position and that of my Government. I can assure you that the alleviation of the conditions in which the depressed classes live, and the raising of their status are matters in which I and my Government have shown and will continue to show such practical sympathy as the circumstances permit. There may be differences of opinion as to the methods by which the objects, which you and I alike have at heart, can best be secured, but I trust we shall both be guided to a solution of the problem which will bring about a permanent improvement in your position and contribute to the well-being of India as a whole.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE ON ANGLO-INDIAN AND DOMICILED EUROPEAN EDUCATION.

6th April 1933. His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Conference on Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Education on Thursday, the 6th April 1933, made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—I must commence my few remarks by an apology to you all for the extremely short notice I was able to give you in inviting you to meet here today, and to thank you very gratefully for the ready response which you have given to my invitation. I am very glad to have this opportunity of explaining to you in a few words the Government of India's position on the important matter which we are met here to discuss.

Opening of the Conference on Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Education.

Some weeks ago my Government received instructions from the Secretary of State for India requesting us to inform the Provincial Governments that they should take immediate action on the proposal made in sub-paragraphs (b) and (c) of the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Third Indian Round Table Conference on the Education of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European community in India.

The Report was received by my Government in January and acting on these instructions to which I have just referred, Local Governments were at once invited to set up the Provincial Boards, recommended by the Conference, and to suggest names for the proposed Inter-Provincial Board. The Report had also by this time been published in India. It soon became clear from representations we received from Local Governments and from bodies, such as the Churches in India and the European Schools Improvement Association, that there was considerable difference of opinion, not only in regard to items (b) and (c) of paragraph 4 of the Sub-Committee's Report, but also on such matters as the adequacy of the constitutional protection recommended by the Committee. It therefore seemed important to us that, while the basic principles of the scheme adopted by the Round Table Conference should be maintained, every endeavour should be made to secure agreement within its framework so as to ensure the efficient and harmonious working of this scheme in the future. The Secretary of State, of whose interest in this question I am sure you need no assurance, cordially agreed with this suggestion and I have, with his concurrence, summoned this conference, in the earnest hope that agreement will be found. All of you, gentlemen, and those whom you represent are animated by the sole desire that the branch of education which we are discussing shall not only maintain its position but shall progressively prosper.

Gwalior State Dinner.

That common objective should ensure agreement on points on which differences of opinion exist. Sir Henry Gidney, and his colleagues of the Sub-Committee of whom I am glad to see Sir Mohammed Iqbal here—I am very sorry to tell you that Mr. Jayakar is prevented by ill-health from being with us today—will be able to explain to you better than I can the reasons which led the Sub-Committee to the conclusions embodied in the Report. You will be able to explain to them, with the aid of your experience, why and where modifications are desirable. This exchange of opinions on the basis of a common purpose will, I trust, enable you to work out an agreed scheme within the framework of the Report.

This, shortly, is the reason for my inviting you to meet here today. I much wish I could continue to preside over your discussions but other urgent business calls me elsewhere, still I am sure that, in my Hon'ble colleague, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, who is in charge of the Education portfolio, you will find a wise guide and experienced counsellor. I shall now ask him to take the chair and leave you with my best wishes for a speedy and successful conclusion of your labours.

GWALIOR STATE DINNER.

17th April
1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Dinner given by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In thanking Your Highness for the charming terms in which you have extended a cordial welcome to Her Excellency and myself to Gwalior tonight, I assure you that we both shared your disappointment when we were unavoidably compelled to cancel our intended visit in January last, and it is therefore all the greater pleasure to us that the

Gwalior State Dinner.

turn of events has enabled us so soon to pay this friendly and informal visit to yourself and to Her Highness the Maharani, your mother. Our pleasure must, however, be touched with a feeling of sadness when, whilst recalling the memory of a past visit to Gwalior we reflect that, barely 18 months ago, passed away the late Maharaja's Senior Maharani, a lady of marked ability to whose judgment and wisdom is largely due the successful working of the Council of Regency over which she presided for six years after the death of my old and valued friend His Highness, your father.

It was our privilege to be on terms of the closest and most intimate friendship with His late Highness the Maharaja Scindia during the years that I was Governor of Bombay, a friendship the memory of which we shall treasure to the end of our lives. His Highness was a man of the most charming personality, of untiring energy, intensely loyal to His Majesty The King-Emperor, always taking an active interest in public affairs. Above all, the greatest purpose in his life was to advance the progressive development of his State and the care and well-being of his people.

From all I hear, I confidently feel that the mantle of the father has fallen on the son, and that you, Your Highness, when you take up your full responsibilities in the near future, will never forget the great example he has set you and will prove a worthy successor of one who did great service to his country and the Empire. I am sure we should all wish to express our admiration of the devotion shown by Her Highness the Maharani in carrying out her many important duties both in her home and in her work on the Council of Regency. Most sincerely we wish her every success in the discharge of her great responsibilities.

Opening of the Rail-Road Conference.

May I ask you to join me in drinking jointly to the healths of Her Highness the Maharani—our hostess—and His Highness Maharaja George Jayaji Rao Scindia ?

OPENING OF THE RAIL-ROAD CONFERENCE.

24th April
1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Rail-Road Conference in Simla, on Monday, the 24th April 1933, made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to welcome you all here today for a discussion of those important and difficult questions upon which my Government desire to have your advice and help.

The questions to be laid before you are increasingly claiming the attention of the people of all the countries of the world. The Road-Rail problem is one of the growing pains of civilisation, and if we look back upon the tremendous progress which has taken place during the present century in the electrical and mechanical devices that science has placed at the disposal of man—a progress and a rate of change which, I think I may truly say, have exceeded that during all previous recorded history—our wonder should rather be at the amazing capacity of man to adjust himself to these new conditions, and not that the adjustment is accompanied by temporary dislocations such as are represented by the complex questions now before you.

We in the Government of India are anxious to approach these discussions with you with an entirely open mind, and I am sure I may ask you, gentlemen who are present here, to approach them in the same spirit. It is becoming more and more apparent that it is impossible to develop this country fully unless we bring all roads to a higher standard and thus improve the facilities for easy access of all producers to markets and to railways.

Opening of the Rail-Road Conference.

In order that such schemes should be developed on proper lines before further considerable expenditure is incurred on either Railways or Roads, it is to my mind absolutely essential that we should get together and, if possible, adopt some co-ordinated scheme. It is because the Government of India are convinced, that not only is this desirable but urgently necessary, that you have been invited to meet us here today.

I am not going to attempt to express any opinion upon the merits of the various differences of view, but in the welter of this controversy there are certain outstanding facts that cannot be challenged. It is a fact that between seven and eight hundred crores of the taxpayer's money are invested in Railways in India. It is a fact that the rate structure of Railways is an inter-dependent and complex entity in which the receipts from certain classes of traffic cannot be suddenly curtailed without causing some reaction upon the rates levied upon others. It is a fact that in a country of vast distances such as India the economic prosperity of its peoples is bound up with cheap rates for the transport of agricultural produce, coal and other traffic, commonly described as low-grade traffic. It is also a fact that the convenience, elasticity and economic advantage of motor transport are very real ; that motor transport has already substantially altered and improved the conditions of life in many parts of the country : and that it is of great potential value in advancing the material, social and political progress of the population.

The whole of this problem has for some years past been exercising the peoples and the press of the whole world, and we have made it our business to collect such material as we can and to place the position clearly before you. In England, a Royal Commission on Transport was followed by a special Committee representative

Opening of the Rail-Road Conference.

of both Railway and Road transport interests, and presided over by Sir Arthur Salter, with regard to whose report, copies of which have been supplied to you, there is still considerable diversity of opinion. In certain other countries various steps have been taken to deal with the problem, and we have furnished you with a summary of the information in our possession upon the nature of the problems that have arisen in different countries and the steps taken or contemplated to meet them.

Here in India the Road-Rail problem is comparatively new and its difficulties less developed. Consequently we appear to have an opportunity for timely adjustment which many other countries have not and therefore to profit by the experience of others. We have a great Railway system and a considerable mileage of excellent Roads. But nearly one half of our Railways have metalled roads parallel to them, while at the same time there are large areas, distant from Railways, very inadequately served by roads, and so deprived not only of all that good roads mean to agriculture, but also it would seem of the possibilities of securing the advantages of modern transport ; for there is a limit to the good roads this country can afford. It is possible that the various authorities in India may have been spending money on duplication of facilities which might perhaps with greater advantage have been spent otherwise. This is a question which you will doubtless consider.

Such perhaps are some of the salient features of the position, and in these circumstances we have, with the help and co-operation of Local Governments, instituted an enquiry into the readily ascertainable facts and opinions bearing upon these questions. The results of that enquiry have been embodied in the Report which has been available to you for some three months.

Opening of the Rail-Road Conference.

Finally, after a preliminary examination of all this material, we have set out the various questions which appear to arise, in the form of certain resolutions which will be discussed by you at this Conference, this being in our judgment the best means of obtaining a general exchange of views on these various problems. These resolutions have been framed to afford a basis of discussion, they do not purport to represent our views.

Thus we have placed before you the material which we have been able to assemble, and we have set down the issues which appear to arise. We await the results of these discussions and the elucidation of the various points of view—our purpose being to secure agreement and co-operation as to principles before deciding upon the next forward step.

We are upon the eve of constitutional changes which are designed to give increased power and discretion to Local Governments, who will be enabled to pursue their several ways for the material and social advancement of their great territories. But here, upon the eve of these changes, we find ourselves face to face with problems which it may not be possible to resolve solely by local action and within local discretion. To discover the best solution of these problems is a matter of national importance, and many of them transcend local boundaries. To our successors in the Federal Government and Legislature will fall the task not only of administering the great Federal Railway system, but of dealing with those aspects of these questions which affect the Central Government. Upon the representatives of Local Governments will fall the task of developing the Road system of India and controlling and regulating motor transport within autonomous Federal Units. It may be that your discussions will show that close contact and co-operation will

Address of Welcome from the Municipal Board of Naini Tal.

be needed between your successors and ours, and, if that be the case, let us not too jealously delineate our prospective independence, but let us leave to our successors when they take over their duties a working and a workable agreement founded on a common policy and a co-operative course of action.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MUNICIPAL
BOARD OF NAINI TAL.

17th June
1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome presented by the Municipal Board of Naini Tal on the 17th June 1933 and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen of the Municipal Board,—I thank you for your hearty welcome and good wishes, and share your regrets that Lady Willingdon has been unable to accompany me. Naini Tal is one of the few hill stations in India which we have not yet visited and we were both looking forward to making the acquaintance of this charming place, a pleasure which we had hoped to enjoy two years ago but which circumstances unfortunately then compelled us to defer. Your beautiful lake of the three Rishis with its girdle of verdure and coronet of seven encircling peaks makes your home unique among Indian summer resorts.

You have referred to your municipal activities and ambitions and also to your financial anxieties. I am well aware that the administration and development of a town set high among mountains, with a population which is mainly migratory, must be an expensive business, while the increasing congestion in your bazars is unfortunately accompanied, owing doubtless to the prevailing financial depression among all classes but also to the development of electricity and other hot weather amenities in the plains

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below, by a decreasing demand for your residential bungalows and consequent contraction of one of your most lucrative sources of taxation. It is natural for you to look for assistance to the Government which has so immediate an interest in your well-being. Of that Government's solicitude for your welfare I have just had convincing proof in my journey up the motor road from Kathgodam, an admirable and I am sure a costly feat of mountain engineering. But I fear that their own financial difficulties will make it impossible for the Government to give you any assistance in the immediate future in carrying out your further schemes of expansion and sanitation. At the same time I trust that the present clouds of depression will shortly lift, even if glimpses of their silver lining are not already apparent, and that it will then be possible for the Government to come once more to your aid.

At the end of your address you refer to the task of governing this great and historic Empire, a task now doubly complicated by the work of constitutional advance in which we have all to play our part, and I join my prayers to yours that this unique adventure in the history of India and of the world may, by the willing co-operation of the many diverse communities and interests involved, be brought with steady and unfaltering progress to a successful and brilliant consummation.

OPENING OF THE INDUSTRIES CONFERENCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Industries Conference at Simla on Thursday, the 13th July 1933, made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have this opportunity of welcoming you to Simla and to this Conference. Eleven

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years have passed since the last of these Conferences was held ; much has happened since then and much has changed. The Governments of India and of the Provinces were then trying to adjust themselves to the altered conditions that what are known as the Montagu-Chelmsford constitutional reforms had brought in their train ; and the most important work of the earlier Conferences was related to the demarcation of the spheres of action of the central and provincial Governments. There was, if I remember rightly, a little fear on the part of the Provinces that the Government of India, in the name of co-ordination, wished to trench on the responsibility that had just been handed over to Ministers, and a natural tendency to mistrust proposals for unified effort. It is perhaps partly a result of this that so long a time has elapsed since the last Conference of this kind.

But with the passing of the years such fears have, I hope and believe, vanished, and it is a happy augury that this Conference has been convened at the instance of provincial Governments. I think we all realise now that, whatever arrangements are made in the constitutional field, there will remain the need for those who are faced with similar problems in different parts of India to take counsel together, to share the experience of their successes and their failures, and to guide their policy with some recognition of the needs not merely of their own areas but of India as a whole. Whatever judgment history may pronounce on the efforts of the last few generations in India, I feel sure that it will recognise in the fostering of the conception of Indian unity a noble ambition and purpose. I sincerely hope that the work done in this direction will remain as a permanent achievement, and that however great the degree of independence that the units composing the whole may enjoy, they will not forget that they are members one of another and that success

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is likely to be achieved only so long as there are common ideals and a common aim.

We have arranged for this Conference, then, not with any idea of attempting to direct the policy that you, in your several spheres, should pursue, but primarily with the object of enabling you to discuss that among yourselves. Most of the items on your agenda relate solely to transferred subjects and we felt, as I know you feel, that the difficulties you are facing might be diminished if you had an opportunity of exploring them in discussion with each other. I am profoundly convinced that the progress of this country is largely bound up with a growth in its material prosperity. Despite vicissitudes, the years since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have been a period of marked industrial progress. Even in this time of phenomenal depression, our industrial activity is far greater than was known, or perhaps dreamt of, before the war ; and its comparative vigour in the present world crisis speaks of the worth of the work that was done in laying its foundations and fostering its growth.

In speaking of industry, we are apt to think first of those great industries that attract public attention by the elaboration of their equipment, the concentration of their workers and the newness of their advance. But besides these there remain the much older and not less important, if perhaps less vocal, industries that count for so much in India, especially to rural life. Much of the thought of your Departments of Industries has been directed to village and cottage enterprise, and I am glad to think that this Conference will devote particular attention to these.

In conclusion, I should like to offer a special welcome to the representatives of the States. They have taken

Address of Welcome from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

an active part in the advance of Indian industry, and their counsels will, I am sure, enrich your deliberations. Their presence shows, I think, that apart from any question of constitutional relations, they feel as we do the need of co-operation and the sense of fellowship which will, I hope and believe, be a mark of the India of future years. I wish you all a pleasant and a profitable meeting.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BHANDARKAR
ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

31st July
1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on the 31st July 1933, and in reply to an Address presented by the Chief of Aundh made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—Let me at once thank my old friend, the Chief of Aundh, for the warmth and cordiality of the welcome which he has extended to me on behalf of this distinguished gathering which has assembled here to greet me, a gathering among whom I am glad to find many friends with whom I was associated during the happy years of my life as Governor of the Bombay Presidency. I have listened too with the greatest interest to the historical account given us by your Secretary of the many activities of this Institute since it was established which recalled to my mind many incidents during my association with it while I was here as head of the Bombay Government.

I am delighted to be here in Poona again revisiting old haunts and particularly glad to pay a visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which you remind me I opened 16 years ago and to find that my godchild, which was then a mere infant erected principally to commemorate the work and teachings of Sir Ram Krishna

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Bhandarkar, has thriven so well that it is now an institution of international repute, an Academy where owing to your well-equipped library students come from all parts to pursue their studies of Sanskrit research. And my presence here recalls to my mind my admiration of the qualities of head and heart of Sir Ram Krishna Bhandarkar and my grateful feeling that he was to me during my life here one of my best and truest advisers and friends. And if I may refer to one particular and very personal incident which for obvious reasons will always be retained in my mind, I remember very well that shortly before I gave up my duties as Governor of Bombay, I went to pay him a visit in his house not far from here, in order that I might wish my old friend farewell and I have a very vivid recollection of his giving me his blessing and wishing me well.

Is it any wonder that I say that I am glad to be here and to find that the building which I opened as a tribute to the learning of an old friend has become a worthy memorial to one who by his erudition and character was beloved and respected by all who knew him.

In gratefully acknowledging the charming gift of an advance copy of this important volume as a memento of my visit, once again let me thank you for your welcome to me today and let me assure you of my continued and lasting interest in the activities and development of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

OPENING OF THE NEW DELHI TOWN HALL.

In opening the New Delhi Town Hall on the 17th August 1933, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :— 1933.

Gentlemen,—It is hardly necessary for me to tell you how delighted Her Excellency and I are to be able to

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be present here this afternoon and to take the principal part in this interesting ceremony, which has for its purpose the opening of this beautiful Town Hall, which will be the administrative home of those upon whose shoulders lies the great responsibility of the development of this, the new Capital City of India. And, as you have said, Sir, since His Majesty the King-Emperor issued his Proclamation to that effect, that development has been amazingly rapid. But, as I understand it, Gentlemen, you have suffered greatly in your work during the past few years from the fact that you have had no permanent home from which to direct your important affairs. You have had to put up with many makeshifts and have been located in many and varied buildings and residential quarters at one time and another. Now, however, all that is over and I share with you your obvious pleasure at the thought that you are firmly established in a fine and imposing building of an architectural design which harmonizes fitly with its surroundings and which is worthy of the objects it is to serve. Here, at last, the manifold and ever increasing activities of your great City can be collected and controlled in proper fashion, and it may fairly be claimed that only in such circumstances can the very best work be expected and obtained.

My wife and I can well remember coming here in years gone by, when New Delhi was in the course of construction. Her Excellency, for her part, having a more practical knowledge of specifications and Blue Prints than I have, delved into the Plans and was able to visualize something of what we now see before us today, whereas I, for my part, wondered to myself whether, during my lifetime, order would come out of chaos, and whether I should be privileged to see the wonderful results which, I was assured, would come about in a very few years' time. I can only say that when we returned here

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2½ years ago to take up our responsible duties, we were both astounded at the progress we saw, and while it is true that at first, the great size of the Viceroy's House rather alarmed us, we can now say, and we can both speak with some knowledge of Government Houses in various parts of the Empire, that our home here is not only the most comfortable, but also, with its garden and surroundings, the most beautiful official residence in which we have ever lived.

You, Sir, have given us a graphic description of the rapid progress in your municipal activities and the fact that in 1930-31 your income was under 3 lakhs, whereas in 1932-33 your receipts amounted to 16 lakhs is sufficient evidence of your satisfactory advance, and at the same time shows clearly the increasing importance of your work. Indeed, you have referred to many projects which the Committee have in mind and with which you are anxious to proceed, and in this connection, may I thank you for your graceful references to the all-important part which Lady Willingdon has played in the enlargement of the Willingdon Hospital in New Delhi, and we both much appreciate the fact that you have called it by our name. In regard to these projects you say that you hope that my Government will give you the financial assistance in the future that they have given you in the past. In the absence of my Finance Member, I am afraid that I can give no definite assurance in this regard, for, Finance in these days is a somewhat depressing subject about which I have to be very careful as to what I say, but perhaps the most encouraging and most practical evidence of my own and my Government's realization of the position is our decision, subject to the approval of the Legislature, to re-open as far as we are able to do so, the New Capital project by the building of future residential accommodation for both Gazetted Officers and Clerks.

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And now, Gentlemen, before proceeding with the opening ceremony of the Town Hall, I should like to add my tribute to that which was paid by you, Sir, to the splendid work done by your Architect, Mr. Gentry, and your contractor, Khan Sahib Raja Akbar Ali, and to the assistance given by Mr. Croad, the Superintending Engineer, and to yourself, Sir, and to all of those who have been responsible in your various ways for the construction of this building. I offer my warm congratulations, for I feel that today we are making a worthy addition to our Capital City in whose progress and welfare you may rest assured Her Excellency and I take the keenest interest, and will continue to give you all the encouragement and assistance in our power to build up here a worthy and abiding evidence of the co-operation and close association of our two races in this country for over 100 years.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE
COMBINED LEGISLATURES.

h August
1933.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the two Houses of the Indian Legislature on the 30th August 1933 :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to meet Hon'ble Members of both Houses of our Legislature once again and to welcome you to the labours of another Session. May I in the first place congratulate both my old friends Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy and Sir Shanmukham Chetty upon their elevation to the very important offices which they now occupy, as this is the first occasion upon which I have addressed you since their election as Presidents of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly respectively. I offer them both my best wishes in the execution of their functions and responsibilities.

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It is now my duty to give you an account of current affairs since last we met in Delhi, and in doing so it will not be necessary for me to keep you from your Parliamentary labours for so great a length of time as I have done on previous occasions, for I am glad to say that I think I can fairly claim that general conditions in India today are more satisfactory in many ways than they have been for a considerable period, and consequently there are fewer matters of a controversial nature for me to bring to your notice. And I should like very sincerely to thank you for your share in bringing this about, not only by the sound and steady judgment which you have generally shown in the debates which have taken place in both Houses, but also by your votes on the many important matters which have come before you. Criticism there certainly has been—criticism there should be—fair criticism is of value to any Government and I am sure I can rely on my Government receiving from you that same fair and helpful criticism during the present Session as they have received in the past thereby assisting them to work for our common purpose—the increasing welfare of your country.

In regard to Foreign Affairs, I am happy to be able to inform you that cordial relations continue to be maintained with all our neighbours. You will, however, regret to learn that a rebellion which broke out this spring in the Sinkiang Province in China against Chinese rule has resulted in the murder of a number of British Indian subjects and of certain loss in property. Much though I deplore this loss of life, I am glad to be able to record that the presence of His Majesty's Representative at Kashgar has been of considerable effect in minimising the danger to British Indian subjects and that he is making every endeavour to bring about the arrest and punishment of the perpetrators of these crimes.

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The long-standing disputes between the Afghan and British tribes on the Kurram border have recently been satisfactorily settled through a joint Indo-Afghan Commission, the result of which will, I trust, ensure the peace of this portion of the border for a considerable time to come.

I must now refer to certain events on the North-West Frontier Province which have recently been creating a considerable amount of interest. I wish from the outset to emphasise that we as a Government are responsible for maintaining friendly relations with our neighbours and for preserving law and order within the confines of India. In view of the recent constitutional changes in the North-West Frontier Province and the coming changes in India as a whole, it is particularly important that these responsibilities should be faithfully discharged.

In the particular case to which I refer the Government of India received information that certain ill-disposed persons had arrived in Bajaur, who were likely to prove not only disturbers of the peace within our Frontier, but also a source of grave embarrassment to our neighbours across the Border.

We have already had experience of the extent of trouble such agitators are capable of causing by events which occurred in Khost earlier in the year, and it was clearly the bounden duty of my Government to take any and every step to prevent the recurrence of such incidents. In the meantime, for motives of their own and egged on by hostile agitators, the Upper Mohmands made a sudden and unprovoked attack from their semi-independent territory on one of our most loyal tribes, the Halimzai. Whether the action of the Upper Mohmands was in any way connected with the activities of the agitators in Bajaur it is impossible to say, but realising that this

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particular portion of the Frontier holds many firebrands, whose main occupation in life is to flout all recognised forms of law and order, and knowing the pace at which infection is likely to spread on the Frontier, I, in consultation with my Government, decided that immediate action was imperative.

This action was not forced upon us by any overt rebellion against our own authority, but it was our obvious duty to support our assured clans against unwarranted aggression, and for this reason a column was despatched into the Halimzai country, to support the Halimzai and to afford them some measure of protection. The column was received with professions of gratitude and has had precisely the effect that we desired. The loyal elements among our clans have been encouraged and fortified, and the hostile lashkars have now dispersed and disappeared.

The problem in Bajaur was not so simple for, owing to the inaccessibility of the villages in which the agitators had taken up their abode, direct action of the nature mentioned above within a reasonable time was impracticable, in fact impossible, owing to the destruction by floods of the bridge over the Panjkora River.

Again, after full consideration, we decided in the first instance to issue notices to certain individual Khans who were known to be harbouring the offenders, demanding their surrender. We even went so far as to offer a reward for their surrender, and to intimate that no action would be taken against them beyond removing them to a safe distance from the Frontier. On the other hand, we made it clear that failing compliance with our orders, the Government would take such action as they considered necessary.

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These notices produced no effect; and it was then, and only then, after considering the alternatives open to us, that Air action was instituted against a single small and remote village called Kotkai in which it was known that the principal offender was being harboured.

In view of the criticism which this decision has evoked during the past few weeks, without perhaps a full knowledge of the facts, I wish to make it quite clear that our action has in no way infringed the canons of international law or the dictates of humanity ; Air action of this type has been taken on many occasions in the past 12 years without exciting comment or protest. It is not directed against the inhabitants of the villages, much less against women and children; it is never undertaken without the express authority of the Government of India and without due warning; and it seldom results in the destruction of human lives. On the present occasion no loss of human life occurred and as far as we know only one man was injured. Its effect lies in the economic loss inflicted by the destruction of dwellings and by the inconvenience and disturbance caused to normal everyday life.

I can assure you once more that our sole object is to maintain those conditions of peace and good relations on the Frontier which are so essential to the ordered progress of the country as a whole.

Although internal disturbances have, I am glad to say, been less frequent than in the preceding two years, there have been occasions on which the aid of troops has had to be invoked by the civil power. The promptness and efficiency with which the Army and the Royal Air Force have met all calls upon them command my admiration and should, I venture to suggest, be a matter of congratulation to us all. Heavy retrenchments have been made in the Defence Estimates and the search for further

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economies has by no means been abandoned. Special attention is being paid to certain suggestions that were made by Hon'ble Members in the last Budget debates; but it is becoming increasingly clear that further savings cannot be secured on a scale to compare with the very large retrenchment of the past two years.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has continued to do useful work since its establishment in 1929. It has been able to allocate funds aggregating 43 lakhs to no less than 49 research schemes most of which extend over a five-year period. There is evidence of an increasing appreciation of the Council's efforts to supplement the work which is already being carried on by the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments of the various Provinces, and at the Central Research Institutes at Pusa and Muktesar. Though in common with other beneficent activities the work of the Research Council has had to be curtailed during the present period of financial stringency, the existence of its Research Fund, which was created in 1929 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and with your approval, has saved much useful work from interruption. Though my Government has not yet been able to restore the Council's annual research grant of five lakhs, it was found possible, again with your approval, to make a supplementary grant of five lakhs to it last March. This enabled the Council to start a number of useful schemes which were awaiting the provision of funds.

It is only four years since the Research Council was established and less than three since its first research schemes came into operation, so that it is too early to expect results. But I was interested to observe that at the recent Sugar Conference convened by the Government of India several Provincial Ministers for Agriculture

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and Industries spoke appreciatively of the work done by the Sugar Technologist and by the Sugar Committee of the Council.

The Council has recently taken on new responsibilities in connection with the development and utilisation of the tariff preferences on agricultural products secured to India by the Ottawa Trade Agreement; and rightly so, for unless Indian agricultural produce is as well-handled and graded, and of as good a quality as that of our principal competitors, the full advantage of these important preferences in the United Kingdom will not be realised.

As you are aware, the Whitley Commission made a number of suggestions for the revision of the Factories Act. These have now been examined in detail by the public, by the Local Governments and by my Government and we shall shortly place before you our proposals in the form of a new Factories Bill, designed to replace the Act of 1911 and the various amending Acts passed since that date.

Another measure that you will have to consider is the question of affording protection to Indian States against activities in British India which tend to subvert or to excite disaffection towards their administrations.

It has been represented to my Government that the existing law is inadequate for the purpose, and my Government feel that the Indian States are clearly entitled to protection against unfair and subversive activities in British India. The Indian States have invariably co-operated with the British Government in suppressing activities in their States subversive to the administration of British India, and I feel there is little need for me to stress the desirability of what I may best characterise as reciprocity in this matter, especially when we envisage

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the proposed Federal Constitution of which States and Provinces will alike be units.

When I addressed the Legislative Assembly last January, I made a brief reference to certain matters relating to Indians overseas. The hope, which I then expressed, that our representations to the Union Government on the subject of Indian unemployment in Natal would prove fruitful, has been realised. Relief to unemployed Indians is now being given in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The Commission to enquire into the occupation of proclaimed land by Indians in the Transvaal continues its labours. Our Agent and his staff have been assisting the Indians in the Transvaal to place their views before the Commission. Two recent events in East Africa may be of interest to Hon'ble Members. The Indian community in Uganda has long been desirous to see its representation on the Legislative Council of this territory increased. His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies has announced that a second Indian member will shortly be nominated to the Council. Members are appointed to the Council, not to represent communities but by reason of their fitness to serve the general interests of the country. Indians in Uganda will, I feel sure, justify the choice, which will now fall on one of them, by using this opportunity to promote the welfare and prosperity of Uganda. In Kenya Indians have decided, without prejudice to their preference for the principle of a common electoral roll, to enter the Legislative Council. The Government of India consider this a wise decision and hope that, by the contribution which this will enable them to make to the common weal of that territory, complete harmony among the different communities may be rapidly established.

It will be remembered that towards the end of the last Session of the Legislature the Government of India

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were compelled to ask His Majesty's Government that formal notice should be given of their desire to terminate the Indo-Japanese Trade Convention. This serious step was taken with the utmost reluctance and only under the threat of grave injury to many of the indigenous industries of India. Our action was conceived in no spirit of hostility or aggression ; it was purely a measure of self-defence and it is regrettable that in certain quarters it has been otherwise construed. The problem with which we were confronted was a difficult one. The depreciation of the currency of Japan relatively to the rupee had given to that country an advantage in Indian markets which rendered competition impossible. Our choice lay between inaction—which spelt ruin to many of our industries—and the denunciation of the Convention which had governed the friendly trade relations of India and Japan for so many years. No other practical solution offered itself and notice of denunciation of the Convention was therefore given, and the Convention will expire on 10th October next.

Though by the denunciation of the Convention and by the passing of the Safeguarding of Industries Act we have taken power to protect our own interests, we have nevertheless been ready at all times to consider any alternative solution that might be put forward. We ourselves were fully conscious of the disadvantages of a discontinuity in our treaty relations with Japan, and I am happy to say that, as a result of preliminary conversations, a Delegation from Japan will shortly arrive in India with a view to the negotiation of a fresh trade agreement. I take this opportunity of welcoming the representatives of Japan now on their way to this country and of expressing the earnest hope that a solution may be found satisfactory to all the parties whose interests are involved. The fact that these negotiations will take place

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in Simla between the Government of India and the Government of Japan is one of great significance for India.

Of significance too is the fact that India is to be the scene of a tripartite conference between the textile industrialists of India, Lancashire and Japan. In this conference the Government of India will not take part, but they would welcome any agreement consonant with the welfare and interests of India as a whole.

You will be invited to give legislative sanction to the agreement that has been reached between the tea growers of India, Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies. The Restriction Scheme which they have themselves evolved is as yet in its initial stages and it is perhaps too early to proclaim it a success, but it has already engendered in the trade a very welcome feeling of buoyancy and confidence.

I now turn to the question of Finance about which in these times of unparalleled uncertainty it is necessary to speak with caution. I think it is fair to say that on all sides there is a feeling of greater confidence and that it is possible to detect signs of definite improvement in many directions. The World Economic Conference, though it failed to produce any agreed plan of co-operation, has at least done much to clear the air, while the discussions between the Empire countries in which India's representatives took a prominent part led to a declaration of a monetary policy which justifies the hope of an improvement in the sterling prices—and therefore also in the rupee prices—of commodities.

So far as our budgetary position is concerned, it is too early yet in the year to make any reliable forecasts. The results for the four months to the end of July are

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interesting. Exports of merchandise show an increase of about Rs. 7½ crores over last year, while imports of merchandise are lower by about Rs. 11½ crores. The result is that customs receipts to date are disappointing, but on the other hand India's favourable balance of payments has been much larger than last year, and Government has been able to remit exceptionally large amounts of sterling—over Rs. 19 crores as compared with less than Rs. 1½ crores at the same period last year.

The reduction in imports may signify that India is relying more on her own industrial production, and this combined with the increase in the favourable balance of payments can be interpreted as signs of strength in the intrinsic position of India. But it also shows how such an improvement in the general position, and in particular how the replacement of dutiable imports by Indian manufactures, may actually increase the budgetary difficulties ; so that we cannot contemplate any relaxation in our policy of rigorous economy in recurrent expenditure.

In the meanwhile it may be said that our position remains one which compares favourably with that of any other country. The credit of the Government stands high and the favourable results as regards remittance have a significance at the present juncture to which I wish to call special attention. These remittances have enabled us so to strengthen our sterling balances that if this position continues we shall have made the provision of adequate external reserves for setting up a Reserve Bank an immediate practical possibility.

This brings me to a question which will be of close interest to you—not only from the financial, but also from the constitutional standpoint—that of early legislation for the setting up of a Reserve Bank. I have been particularly glad to note the most satisfactory course of

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the discussions in London on this subject at which the Indian Legislature was strongly represented and which has resulted in the production of a unanimous report I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the valuable service rendered by the Members of the Legislature and other Indian representatives in these discussions. With this report to guide us, we propose to introduce a Bill into the Legislature this Session and to proceed to the stage of recommending to you that it should be referred for detailed examination by a Select Committee of both Houses. If this procedure is approved by you, it is our intention to arrange for the further stages of the Bill as reported by the Select Committee to be taken at a special Session to be convened in the latter half of November. It is our earnest desire to proceed as expeditiously as possible with the inauguration of the Reserve Bank in view of its importance in the general constitutional plan, and, with your help, on which I now feel that I can confidently rely, combined with the improvement of our position as regards external reserves to which I have already called attention, I have every hope that it will be possible to have the Reserve Bank successfully functioning well in advance of the earliest possible inauguration of the new constitution.

Before leaving the field of Finance, there is one other matter which I must mention. One practical result of the World Economic Conference was the conclusion of an agreement between the representatives of the countries interested in silver, the details of which have already been fully reported in the press. We believe that this agreement will operate to the substantial advantage not only of India but of the other countries concerned, while it offers the further great advantage of removing what was a cause of friction and misunderstanding between this country and the United States of America. This

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agreement is subject to ratification by the Legislatures of the various countries concerned, and it will be put before you for your consideration at the earliest convenient opportunity.

When I addressed you in February last I ventured to express the belief that the march of events would gradually carry the leaders of the civil disobedience movement further and further away from the sterile methods of negation and obstruction, and that they would find themselves caught up in the living forces of constructive politics which the near approach of the new constitution is releasing on all sides. I think that what has happened in the last few months has borne out that belief. It is true that civil disobedience still maintains a precarious existence through the personal influence of its author, but the popular judgment has really discarded it, and the pathway to happier conditions is broadening out before us. The minds of men and women are turned in the direction of constructive work rather than of continuing an unmeaning struggle. I hope we can feel that an unhappy page in the history of the country has been turned over, and that advanced political thought in India can henceforth address itself to the problems of the future. In that new India to which we are advancing there is need, and there will be scope, for the co-operation of many diverse elements. I believe that those whose main political outlook is usually summed up in the word "nationalist" will find in the new constitution satisfaction for their claim that the centre of gravity in the Government should be shifted unmistakably from the officials to the representatives of the people, and will discover ample scope for new activities and new policies in dealing with the many urgent social and economic problems that confront the country. The conservative

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elements will also have their part to play, as they have in every country, balancing enthusiasm with caution and ideas with facts. The struggle, for we can never get away from struggles in politics, will be no longer between those who would break and those who would uphold the law, or between those who would maintain and those who would destroy the British connection, but it will be a struggle between different policies for meeting the practical problems that face us; problems that have perhaps never been in any age so insistent and so complicated as they are now throughout the world. Out of that struggle will emerge, I hope, solutions that will truly advance the welfare of the peoples of this great country.

The improvement in the situation in Bengal in regard to the terrorist movement of which there were some signs last February has, I am glad to say, continued, and there has been no serious outrage in recent months. But the movement, though checked, is still active. It would be the greatest mistake to suppose that these subterranean forces have yet been overcome or that there can be any relaxation of the steady and unremitting pressure to which, in conjunction, I hope, with an improved, convinced and active public opinion, they will in the end yield. The success which has been so far achieved in Bengal has been due to an unswerving resolution on the part of the Government of Bengal that this menace should be faced and beaten, and to the admirable efforts made in pursuance of that policy by the servants of Government, both civil and military, and the effective co-operation of all those who have been engaged in this campaign. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me that His Majesty the King-Emperor recently conferred a special mark of his appreciation on two officers, one civil and one military, whose work has been most valuable in

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securing the great improvement which is evident in conditions in the Chittagong District.

But while conditions in Bengal are slowly improving, we have had a reminder recently of the manner in which the infection of these poisonous doctrines may spread to parts of India which have hitherto happily been free from this form of crime. Recently terrorist outrages or attempts at outrages have occurred in the Madras Presidency. I am glad to think that the prompt and effective action of the Madras Government and Police has succeeded in dealing with this development in its initial stages, and I have no doubt that the people of Madras will give all possible co-operation to the authorities in their efforts to prevent the youth of the Presidency becoming tainted with these disastrous doctrines, doctrines which are essentially alien to the culture of the people among whom it is sought to propagate them.

When last addressing you on the question of Constitutional Reforms, the third Round Table Conference had concluded its session, and with feelings of keen anticipation we were awaiting the presentation to Parliament of the proposals of His Majesty's Government. I have frequently described the progress of the Reforms discussions of these past years in terms of the stages of a journey. The publication on the 18th March of the Indian White Paper marked so definite a stage that I feel I can well ask Hon'ble Members to look back for a moment to the stages we have covered before they cast their eyes forward to those which lie ahead. When the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed, Parliament recognised that the Constitution then given was transitional and made provision for its review. By virtue of that provision the Indian Statutory Commission was appointed and its labours opened the way to the great developments

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which followed the publication of its report. The first Round Table Conference will for all time hold an honoured place in the constitutional history of this country, for it was at that Conference that the conception of bringing this great continent within the embrace of an all-India Federation was first brought within the range of practical politics. That ideal we have since held consistently before us. It is now the corner-stone on which we have built. Each of the two succeeding Conferences made its own particular contribution to the completion of our task, and the intervals were occupied with expert enquiries into one aspect or another of the many difficult problems inherent in so great a constitutional change. When I look back over this period of preparation, my confidence in the future is stimulated by the encouragement I derive from that splendid spirit of common endeavour, which has throughout inspired the free exchange of views between the representatives on the one side of His Majesty's Government and on the other side of British India and the Indian States. Compressed within the pages of the White Paper there lie the evidences of this collaboration, in which by the help so readily given the Indian representatives have played so notable a part.

While the Joint Parliamentary Committee has been at work in London, but without prejudice to its conclusions, my Government has set up a Committee of officials and non-officials to consider administrative problems relative to the separation of Orissa. It is intended also to set up a similar Committee for Sind to assemble and start work early in the coming cold weather.

The White Paper is now in the hands of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Its terms of reference charge the Committee with the momentous responsibility of

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considering the future Government of India and, in particular, of examining and reporting upon the proposals in the White Paper. We have all followed with close attention the reports appearing in the press of the Committee's proceedings, and, conscious of what Indian co-operation has achieved in the past, I rejoice to think that Indian opinion is again given the fullest opportunity to make itself felt at this last and formative stage when the work that has been done comes finally before Parliament for decisions to be taken. No part of the Committee's proceedings has given me greater pleasure than the generous acknowledgments by Indian delegates of the great contribution made to the discussions by the Secretary of State, who in the course of his evidence displayed a grasp of these great constitutional issues which evoked tributes from representatives of all sections of opinion in the Committee. Early in October the Committee will reassemble and resume its labours. I would ask Hon'ble Members to join with me in wishing the Committee and its collaborators an early and successful conclusion to their great work of investigation, scrutiny and review before the Committee places its own recommendations before Parliament for consideration.

In conclusion, let me turn for a moment to the future. If we are to ensure the rapid progress which we all desire in the way of Constitutional Reforms, we must create the atmosphere in which that progress can develop. Little can be done by Government alone. An equal responsibility must lie upon Hon'ble Members themselves and other leaders of political thought in India to whom we must look to use their influence by their speeches, by public meetings and propaganda to see that the electorates of the future are made fully aware of the great advance we are striving to achieve through the White Paper proposals. I appeal to you, therefore, with all the

Address of Welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board.

sincerity at my command, to take up this responsibility with courage and energy so as to help your country forward to the attainment of her ultimate goal as an equal partner in the shaping of the destinies of the British Empire.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SHILLONG
MUNICIPAL BOARD.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board on the 3rd October 1933 and replied in the following terms :—

3rd October
1933.

Gentlemen,—I am indeed glad that I have been able to escape for a few days from the more official duties of my office and to find an opportunity of visiting Shillong which has always had the reputation of being one of the most beautiful of all the hill stations of India. I look forward to my stay amongst you with the greatest possible pleasure and I hope not only to enjoy the many amenities which the beauties of the surrounding country offer, but also to learn for myself something of your problems and difficulties so that I may be in a better position to deal sympathetically with them when they are laid before me in my administrative capacity as the head of the Government of India.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for the most cordial welcome you have extended both to Lady Willingdon and myself in your address. Doubly so on account of the fact that there is one feature of it which I assure you I shall always remember. I may say that from a long experience of public life it is all too rare to be presented with an address of welcome which does not embrace a request for financial or material assistance. No doubt this is due to courtesy to a guest rather than to any intrinsic objection on your part to the receipt of money, but still it is most

Address of Welcome from the Shillong Municipal Board.

refreshing and I much appreciate and thank you for this forbearance especially in these days of financial stringency.

Your town has made great strides in the last 30 years during which time its population has more than trebled itself. This speaks well for its popularity but of course such progress brings in its train increased responsibility and places heavier burdens on the shoulders of the City Fathers. The problem of increased water supply has had to be tackled, and I understand that the Board out of its own resources has been making splendid progress in its efforts to supply more water. Further I am glad to learn that the most important questions of drainage and sanitation—the essential safeguards of public health—are occupying both your attention and that of the Local Government. These are, I know, expensive amenities, but the Capital of a Province cannot rest until they are satisfactorily achieved, and I always feel that the Headquarters of a Government has a special right to look to that Government for generous help in these directions.

I am aware of the inadequacy of your hospital accommodation but I am glad to hear that the Welsh Mission have with great generosity erected a fine new hospital in Shillong and that the name of Dr. Roberts, who is the Patron Saint of this Hospital, is known with gratitude far and wide. I look forward to seeing the hospital myself tomorrow and also the Pasteur Institute, to both of which institutions you, Sirs, have referred with justifiable pride in your address. In this connection I am sure you will forgive me if I lay stress on a particular matter which I learn is lacking in your hospital accommodation. I understand that there is no hospital either in Shillong or elsewhere in Assam which is set apart for Indian women. It is not for me as a visitor and a guest to criticise, but I may at least express the sincere hope that

Address of Welcome from the Siems of Assam.

the efforts now being made to remedy this deficiency will be very shortly crowned with success, for the status of women in a community is a sure measure and indication of the place of that community in the march of progress, and it is indeed very important that the women of Assam should have at their disposal all the same privileges and facilities such as their sisters in other parts of India possess.

Apart from the pleasant climate and scenery which your flourishing town enjoys, its central position in the Province is a great advantage and the recent completion of the fine road from Shillong through the hills southwards to Sylhet not only adds to the importance of Shillong itself, but is a strong link between the two sundered valleys of the Province.

In conclusion, may I offer you all the good wishes both of Lady Willingdon and myself and assure you that we shall carry away with us many charming memories of your delightful country. I have sometimes heard it said, quite wrongly I am sure, that Assam is the Cinderella of the Provinces of India. I can but say that I feel sure that, under the wise guidance of His Excellency your Governor, Cinderella will soon find the golden slipper, and that you will all share to the full in that return to prosperity which I feel certain is coming to India in the near future.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SIEMS OF ASSAM.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Siems of Assam on 3rd October 1933 and replied in the following terms :—

Sirs,—I thank you very warmly for the cordial welcome which you, *Sirs*, have extended to Lady Willingdon and myself on the occasion of this, our first

Address of Welcome from the Siems of Assam.

visit to this delightful part of India. It is a very great pleasure to us both to have this opportunity of visiting you and making the personal acquaintance of many of the Chiefs of the Khasi Hills.

I think it is true to say that the Viceroy of India, as the official representative of His Majesty the King Emperor, has in his charge peoples of many races and of widely differing cultures, but there is no place within our Indian Empire where wider diversity is found within a smaller compass than in the uplands of Assam, where the Siems and princely houses of the Khasis represent, perhaps, the oldest and certainly one of the most interesting of the ancient tribal migrations. It is a proof of the stamina and virility and competence of your people that, when greater empires in the East and the West have throughout the ages come and gone, you still maintain in your pleasant hills the freedom of your small republics based on the ancient ways and tenets of your race. I need say no more than that inasmuch as your treaties and Sanads have been scrupulously respected in the past, these still stand as your secure guarantee for the future.

I will refer now to your request for representation along with the other Indian States in the *proposed* Federal Legislature. In this connection it must be remembered that the total population of the Khasi States is very small in comparison with that of the larger States in India, and that this factor must be taken into account when determining the right for such representation. The present scheme in force in connection with the smaller States in India is that a group of such States is formed which then will have the power to elect a common member to the Federal Legislature. It is impossible to be definite in matters of such complexity at the present stage, but I hope that it may be found possible to join the Khasi

Address of Welcome from the Siems of Assam.

States with some other smaller units and thus form an elective group of this description.

I understand that for some time past you have been considering the feasibility of a closer association amongst yourselves with a view to constituting a Federation of the Khasi States. I would commend this idea to your most earnest attention, as this is obviously the first and most useful step which should pave the way towards your entry into the greater Federation.

Regarding the suggestion that in the future your States should be placed in direct relationship with the Viceroy through the medium of a Political Agent, I would remind you that hitherto the administration of your States has been carried out most efficiently and wisely in the closest association with the Government of Assam and that the practice is hallowed by tradition and has stood the test of time. However, the question as to how far this relationship that you suggest is desirable or practicable, will receive the most careful consideration of both myself and the Government of India.

Lastly, you have asked me to aid you in preserving your ancient customs and usages. For a hundred years you have lived protected under the shield of the British Crown and have always been loyal to His Majesty the King Emperor. I may assure you that whatever changes may occur in the constitution of this great country, this shield of His Majesty will continue to cover and safeguard his people in retaining their ancient rights and privileges.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your warm welcome, and in all sincerity assure you that it has been a great pleasure to Lady Willingdon and myself to have this opportunity of making the acquaintance of those who take such an important part in the life of the Province of Assam.

BANQUET AT JODHPUR.

12th November 1933.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur gave a Banquet in honour of His Excellency's visit to his State. In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the course of our travels in this great country in past years Her Excellency and I have previously enjoyed but fleeting glimpses of Jodhpur, lasting long enough however to enable me to assure Your Highness that it is with feelings of the greatest pleasure and delight that we find ourselves as your guests here tonight, and I can but express to you our very real regret that circumstances have prevented an earlier visit in my present capacity to Your Highness' historic capital. I am grateful to you for the warmth of your welcome, very particularly as old friends, and I am proud to feel that our personal friendship has stood the test of many years and that I can claim the friendship in the past of other distinguished members of Your Highness' family.

Your Highness and Your Highness' guests here tonight must forgive a personal touch of vanity if I dwell for a moment on the distinction I claim of being the first Viceroy to arrive at Jodhpur by air. The splendour of the elephants, the ornamental howdahs, the bedecked camels and the richly caparisoned horses, and all the picturesque concourse that accompanied travel in former days and escorted State Guests into a Rajput capital, have gradually lost their place before the inroads successively of train, motor, and now of aeroplane. And I have no doubt that at no very distant date the Viceroy will be able, if the Political Department sees no insuperable objection, to drop vertically from the skies into the Palace courtyard or alight on Your Highness' roof.

Although, however, methods of transport have altered, the ingrained characteristics of Your Highness'

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family and the reputation of the Rathor race for staunchness and hospitality have not changed since the link between the Crown and the House of Jodhpur was first forged, for I have today experienced the same cordiality of welcome that the King-Emperor's representatives from the first have invariably met with on visits to Jodhpur.

The bird's-eye view of this city left a great impression on us, but I do not venture to describe the wonderful panorama of hill and lake and ancient walled city crowned by the magnificent fort which met our expectant gaze this afternoon, to a Ruler so manifestly air-minded, for whom Jodhpur and its environments are as familiar from the air as they are from the ground. Such descriptive power as I possess would seem a poor substitute for his own experiences. Jodhpur is now an important link in the chain of Imperial communications, and its aerodrome is one of the finest in the East, supplemented by an excellent Hotel and every important accessory to modern aviation. The word "Jodhpur", which has for generations been a household word to every riding-man, is now equally well known among the pilots of the Airway Companies of Great Britain, France and Holland which ply a service to India and the Far East. Pilots of many different countries will speak of the Jodhpur aerodrome as being in the forefront of all landing grounds for the efficiency of the ground staff, the luxury and comfort of nearby accommodation for weary travellers and for its general up-to-date arrangements and convenience. Let me then congratulate Your Highness very warmly on the prescience you have shown in realising the immense importance of encouraging transit by air in this country. The ever-increasing rapidity of transport by sea and air between different countries is bringing them continually close together in their relations to one another. The life of

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an administrator in this country, be he a Prince or a Governor, is very different to what it was even 50 years ago, for we are all closely in touch now with world affairs and shall in the future increasingly be so. It was, therefore, with keen interest that I learnt from Your Highness tonight that you have already established 15 landing grounds in different parts of your State which will keep Your Highness yourself and your touring officers in close touch with the requirements of your people, a development to which I look forward, when economic conditions improve and which will be of immense value to our administration throughout the whole of India.

Your Highness has referred to your feelings of diffidence and awe ten years ago when you were first called to face the responsibilities of your high position. The occasion is therefore an opportune one for me to survey briefly the fruits of the decade. Despite the financial difficulties which almost every country in the world has endured, Jodhpur has had an average annual surplus which affords striking proof of the financial solidity and economic strength of Your Highness' State. These surpluses moreover have not been gained at the expense of the development of social services, for I am glad to learn that between 1923 and 1933 the education budget has expanded from Rs. 2,75,000 to Rs. 7,00,000, the medical budget has expanded from Rs. 1,84,000 to Rs. 5,22,000, and there has been an outlay of 1½ crores on public works.

In education, in addition to a considerable expansion in the facilities for higher education, there has been a great increase in the number of vernacular and Girls' Schools, and a regular system of vocational scholarships has been instituted in engineering, medicine, agriculture and veterinary work, tenable outside the State. As regards medical relief, a fine new hospital was opened

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some two years ago, which I am informed is one of the most up-to-date and best equipped in India. Among the more notable public works recently completed is the Umaid Sagar reservoir at a cost of four lakhs, half of which I understand Your Highness contributed from your own personal resources. This has doubled the water-supply of Jodhpur City and will soon be further improved by the addition of water filtering machinery at a cost of three lakhs. I have already referred to the extensive and well-fitted aerodrome. New barracks have been built for the State forces, and the Military Hospital has been enlarged.

The Jodhpur Railway system has been extended by some 200 miles, and at the same time it has been entirely re-equipped with new rolling stock and the workshops have been remodelled and brought up to date. Altogether a total sum of 1.8 crores has been spent on capital development during the last ten years, and the average interest earned on the capital outlay of the Railway has been 7 per cent. One last improvement of not so tangible a nature, but none the less important has been the revision of salaries of all the State services, and the introduction of time-scale pay, while a State Service Provident Fund has been started on a contributory basis to which the State makes the substantial subvention of Rs. 1½ lakhs yearly. Meanwhile the reputation of the general administration has remained deservedly high.

This is unquestionably an outstanding record of achievement, and I am quite sure that, were I the Ruler of the Jodhpur State, I should feel justified in looking back with considerable satisfaction and pride on the first ten years of my stewardship.

I am very glad to learn from Your Highness that you

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are prepared to co-operate whole-heartedly in the development of the Federal scheme for the whole of India. The problem, as Your Highness is aware, is one of the most complex that the wit of man has ever had to solve, and it is extremely difficult to reconcile all the conflicting claims of the various constituent partners. Every financial and economic issue that may be raised must of course be thoroughly and carefully examined. But I trust that whatever decisions may, after full consideration, be reached will be loyally accepted by all parties concerned and will not shake their adherence to a scheme which seems to me to be the only practical avenue to India's constitutional advancement.

I congratulate Your Highness on the evidence of careful town-planning shown in the neat and well laid out suburbs growing up outside the present city wall which will comprise the future greater Jodhpur, and it is satisfactory to learn that offers of subscriptions towards the cost of a new public park have been received from your citizens. Your Highness has done me the honour of asking me to allow this new park to be called the Willingdon Gardens. To this request I gladly and gratefully agree.

In conclusion, I must thank Your Highness for your kind allusions to Lady Willingdon and myself and must again express our great gratitude for the warmth of the welcome which Your Highness and Your Highness' subjects have accorded to us today. It is a great joy to us to visit old and loyal friends and they are always to be found in Jodhpur.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I will ask you to rise and to drink the health of our illustrious host, His Highness Maharaja Sir Umaid Singh.

STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech ^{29th Novem} at the State Banquet at Hyderabad on the 29th November ^{ber 1933.} 1933 :—

Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In rising to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have received the toast of the health of my wife and myself, which has been proposed in such charming terms by His Exalted Highness, our host, I call to mind that it is now 18 years since Lady Willingdon and I first visited Hyderabad, only four years after Your Exalted Highness had succeeded to the great responsibilities that for more than two centuries have been the heritage of the House of Asaf Jah. Our acquaintance made at that time soon ripened into a friendship which has stood the test of time, and I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that it is the greatest pleasure and delight to us both that we find ourselves once again enjoying the hospitality of our old friend His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

These 18 years have perhaps seen more momentous developments in the history of the world, of India, and of Hyderabad, than the twenty decades that preceded them. It is not, however, my intention tonight to ask you to turn your thoughts towards the difficulties and anxieties which, in the midst of change, form so large a part of the lives of those in authority today. I prefer that we should think tonight of that which does not change—the friendship between the British Government and their “Faithful Ally”. This friendship that has existed between so many Viceroys and the Nizam of Hyderabad is, as I have already said, an especially personal one in the case of Your Exalted Highness and ourselves, and it is this that has made our visit to Hyderabad so particularly enjoyable at this time.

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We received a few weeks ago in Delhi Your Exalted Highness' telegram informing us of the birth of your first grandson. We join with Your Exalted Highness, his parents, and your people, in the prayer that this boy will grow up to bring happiness to Your Exalted Highness and honour to the two great Houses from which he descends.

I must now thank Your Exalted Highness for the flattering terms in which you have referred to my work as Viceroy. Believe me, I am fully aware of my own limitations, but I can honestly say I have done my best to bring peace and goodwill to the people of India, and, as you have so well expressed it, to lead this great country on towards the attainment of their ultimate goal of equal partnership in furthering the destinies of the British Empire under the British Crown.

Let me take this opportunity of thanking Your Exalted Highness and your Government for the important contribution that Hyderabad has made towards the solution of the great problem of Federation of India that is occupying so much of our attention today, and for the keen personal interest which I know you have personally taken in this matter. I assure you that I am fully conscious of the sacrifice that your Government must have made in sparing the services of three of the Members of Your Exalted Highness' Council for the long periods necessitated by the various conferences in London. You have already acknowledged the additional responsibility that has fallen on the shoulders of my old friend, Sir Kishen Pershad, and the other Members of your Council, and it has given me particular pleasure to hear of the striking administrative progress that has been made in Your Exalted Highness' Dominions during this period.

These years have been critical years for Hyderabad as well as for the rest of India, but I congratulate Your

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Exalted Highness very warmly on the fact that your Government have been able to stand the strain of the economic depression which has hung over us for the last three years, and have shown a balanced budget at the end of each year, and at the same time have continued to make great developments in all the many branches of their administrative activities. I do not intend to detain you, ladies and gentlemen, tonight by going into any detail with regard to the numerous and varied character of those developments to which I have referred, but I must express my appreciation of Your Exalted Highness' anxious concern for your people in the Districts which is made apparent by your liberal remissions of land revenue, and by the permanent measures that have been taken to improve the economic condition of the producers in this great agricultural State. The completion of the great Nizam-sagar Dam, the expansion of your road and rail transport, the keen attention that has been given to the improvement of medical and sanitary efficiency, indeed the general progress of the public life of Your Exalted Highness' State has been made possible through that sound financial policy which is characteristic of the State of Hyderabad.

It is a particular pleasure to me to be able to announce tonight publicly the successful conclusion of the negotiations which have been going on for the last year with regard to the important question of the position of Berar under the contemplated Indian Federation. The Berars under the Agreement of 1902 have been administered jointly with the Central Provinces, though the sovereignty is that of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. We were therefore anxious to secure His Exalted Highness' assent to the entry of the Berars into a Federal Scheme with, if possible, no alteration in the administrative arrangements existing at present by which the Berars have been administered jointly with the Central Provinces. I am most

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happy to be able to state that His Exalted Highness has now assured us that, while His Majesty's Government on their part reaffirm his sovereignty over the Berars, His Exalted Highness on his part would, on the bringing into force of the contemplated Constitution Act or of such parts of that Act as become applicable to Provinces of British India, be prepared to accede to the Federation in respect of his territories known as the Berars, and desires that these territories together with the territories of His Majesty known as the Central Provinces should be administered together as if they were one Province to be known by the name of the Central Provinces and the Berars. It is not necessary for me on this occasion to review in detail the various arrangements which will be made to meet Your Exalted Highness' wishes and to mark Your Exalted Highness' sovereignty over the Berars. It is sufficient today for me to add that, while the Berars will remain under the administration of the Central Provinces Government, Your Exalted Highness has been satisfied that the arrangements to be made will place beyond all doubt the sovereignty in the Berars of the faithful ally of the British Government.

I now ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to rise and drink the health of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, to wish him all health, happiness and prosperity and trust that he may be spared long years to rule over a contented people.

MYSORE CITY MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ADDRESS.

3rd Decem-
ber 1933.

In reply to an Address of Welcome presented by the Mysore City Municipal Council on 3rd December, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you and to the Members of the Mysore City Municipal Council for the

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cordial welcome that you have extended to Her Excellency and myself upon the occasion of our visit to your city. It is true that, as you say, we are no strangers to Mysore, although it is now 11 years since we were last here, but I am delighted to learn of the steady progress that has been maintained by the Mysore Municipality in improving the amenities of your city during that time. In particular I have been much interested to learn of your proposed plans for the clearing of insanitary areas and for improving the housing conditions of your citizens. What more important subjects can occupy the attention of a Municipality than housing, water-supply and drainage? I do not need to enlarge upon their obvious value to the community and would merely congratulate you upon the energy and foresight with which I am informed you are facing this important problem.

I was particularly pleased to hear the charming words with which you, Sir, referred to my old and valued friend, your august Ruler, His Highness the Maharaja whose wise guidance has been such a real help to you, and whose Government have contributed so generously to the Funds of the City Improvement Trust. And as President of the Indian Red Cross Society I would also like to say that I was delighted to learn that His Highness the Yuvaraja had last year been instrumental in the inauguration in Mysore of a Branch of the Society, which marks an all-important landmark in the development of Public Health in the City.

In conclusion, I wish to thank you once again for the warmth of your welcome. It has given Lady Willingdon and myself great pleasure to meet the members of the Mysore Municipal Council, realising as we do that the care of this delightful city is in such zealous and capable hands. Under the watchful guidance of the benign Ruler,

Banquet at Mysore.

held in such high esteem, not only by his subjects, but by every one who has heard of Mysore, the success and prosperity of your Municipality are assured.

BANQUET AT MYSORE.

4th December
1933.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore gave a banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In replying to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My wife and I are deeply touched by the warm welcome we have received tonight and for the very graceful and generous terms in which Your Highness has spoken of us both. It is just over two and a half years since I took up the reins of my present office ; and ever since then it has been our desire to visit once more Your Highness' State and to renew old and valued friendships, friendships which in the case of Your Highness and Your Highness' mother and family date back nearly 20 years. Although this is my first visit to you as Viceroy, it is by no means our first visit to your State, for on no less than five separate occasions have we enjoyed that hospitality for which Your Highness is so justly famous, and it is a very real pleasure to find ourselves once again under the sheltering care of a tried and trusted friend. It was delightful, on awakening yesterday morning, to find ourselves in the heart of your smiling countryside and to observe the familiar landmarks, culminating in that beautiful hill of Chamundi, the hill that guards one of the most enchanting cities it has ever been my privilege to see, and which can rightly claim to be the garden-city of India.

Your Highness has remarked that my visit is made at a time of great importance in the history of India.

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Your Highness is also well aware that the goal which we have set before ourselves is not exactly approached by a road strewn with roses all the way. Nevertheless, the determination of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to achieve that large advance to which Your Highness refers remains, and will remain, unshaken. This great country has but recently passed through times as grave and fraught with anxiety as any in its long history, times which are still not free from anxiety owing to the economic depression which still hangs over us. And, although signs are not wanting that happier days are in sight, he would be a bold man who would prophesy that India is more than at the threshold of that period of peace which is so essential for her recovery and progress. But, whatever troubles India may have had to face, she has had friends and supporters, staunch and true ; and none more constant in devotion and loyalty to the British Crown than Your Highness. The active co-operation of Your Highness' Government has been of material assistance to my Government and I am glad to have this opportunity of sincerely thanking Your Highness for the very real services which Mysore has rendered during the past troublous year.

The record of progress of your State since my last visit eleven years ago is certainly remarkable. Those years have not been happy ones in the histories of the nations and they have closed in an economic crisis of the first magnitude. It was impossible that Mysore should escape altogether the world-wide depression. That she should have been able, despite it, to continue to develop her industries and provide for the welfare of her people in the way she has done, must compel the admiration of all observers. Nothing is better calculated to bring prosperity to the countryside than a wise policy of harnessing the forces of nature as has been done by Your

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Highness in the case of the waters of that great and sacred river, the Cauvery, known to all devout Hindus as the Ganges of the South. Of the varied and interesting programme that you have prepared for me there is no item that I look forward to with greater anticipation than my visit to the Krishnarajasagara Dam. This vast sheet of water is the source of the already familiar Irwin Canal ; and I understand that this year the main canal to the end of the 9,000 foot tunnel, together with the Maddur and Keregod Branches and the first six miles of the Cauvery branch have been completed, with the result that 50,000 acres are even now under irrigation. The great Power Station at Sivasamudram, with a sufficient flow of water assured at all times by the Krishnarajasagara project, besides providing light and power to Mysore, Bangalore and the Kolar Gold Fields, is now adding to the amenities of life in many of your towns and villages. All this indeed bears the hall-mark of real progress. Further than that I have good reason to know that it was entirely the friendly co-operation shown by Your Highness and your Government with the neighbouring Presidency of Madras that secured the successful development of the Mettur project which, by impounding 90 thousand million cubic feet of water, will, it is hoped, bring prosperity hitherto undreamed of to the ryots in that part of the Presidency of Madras. As Your Highness has already remarked, the project was very dear to me when I was Governor of Madras ; and Your Highness may well appreciate my feelings on learning that the work put in train at that time is now so near to completion. Your Highness has not failed to realise the necessity of providing facilities for rapid transport, and there are, I am told, 450 miles of railway worked by the State. I can well appreciate Your Highness' anxiety to link by railway the southern portion of Mysore with the adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency,

Banquet at Mysore.

but as Your Highness knows well there are certain difficulties in this connection which have so far prevented Your Highness from realising this long-cherished and most admirable ambition but I trust that in the future, when circumstances are more favourable, a means of surmounting these difficulties may be found.

The industries of Mysore are so numerous that I can do no more than express my admiration for the energy and skill with which, in the face of economic depression, they have been, and are still being, developed. One such outstanding instance is the Sugar Factory now nearing completion at Mandya.

It is my sincere hope that the labours of the Tariff Board which are even now engaging the serious attention of my Government will result in restoring prosperity to your silk and iron industries.

Your Highness' care for the sick and maimed, your provision for the children who will be the men and women of tomorrow, are subjects which—as Your Highness has remarked—are very near not only to myself but to Her Excellency as well. It is, I assure you, a very real pleasure to my wife to know that you seek her encouragement in these noble fields of public health and charity.

This record of this great State, to which I have been able to make only the briefest reference, is one of which Your Highness, Your Highness' Government and Your Highness' people have every reason to be proud. This could not have come about had Mysore not been fortunate in having as her Ruler for the last 30 years one whose whole life has been devoted to the welfare of his people and who has never sought personal advancement.

In 1923 Lord Reading referred to the charter which inaugurated great constitutional changes in your State. The confidence which Your Highness has reposed in your

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subjects has been more than justified by the passing of the years. The maintenance of that standard of administration which was handed over to your revered father in 1881 has been a matter of satisfaction to successive Viceroy, and I am glad to be able to give signal proof of the recognition of this high standard by the British Government by announcing that, in response to Your Highness' wishes, the restrictions imposed by Article 18 of the Treaty of 1913 on legislation by Your Highness' Government have now been removed.

Your Highness has referred to the remission of those portions of your revenues that now form a contribution to the Imperial Government. It will be remembered that the Davidson Committee who visited your State in February 1932 have recommended that all such contributions should as soon as possible be abolished. A reference to these recommendations will be found in paragraph 61 of the introduction to the White Paper. The question is in fact among those which are now engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government, and I can assure Your Highness that my Government will not cease to give the matter its earnest and sympathetic consideration. At present, as Your Highness is aware, the position is complicated by the economic depression which has affected the rest of India no less than Mysore. I can only express the hope that before long the general financial situation will materially improve and that Your Highness may be relieved of your anxieties over this matter.

The question of the retrocession of a portion of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, to which Your Highness has referred, is under examination by the officers of my Government and I hope that by patience and goodwill it may be settled to the satisfaction alike of my Government and of Your Highness. Federation, Your

State Banquet at Cochin.

Highness, is a word that is on everybody's lips today. That it will come, I am confident ; that it will come soon, I much hope. When it does come, I look to see Mysore play a leading part in the destinies of the New India, a part she is well qualified to play by her traditions and her long and distinguished history no less than by her capacity for administration, and by the fact that she has as her Ruler one of the most enlightened and broad-minded Princes in India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. We wish for Your Highness all possible health and prosperity, and trust that you may be spared many long years to rule over a loyal and contented people.

STATE BANQUET AT COCHIN.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the ^{8th December} Viceroy at the State Banquet at Cochin on the 8th December 1933 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have proposed the health of Her Excellency and myself this evening and to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received the toast.

I can assure Your Highness that it is a very real pleasure to us both to visit you once again in your historic and picturesque State and to receive a welcome such as we have received today showing us that the affection we formed for the people of Southern India during the years we were privileged to live amongst them were not entirely one-sided, and that the friendships we made during those years still subsist as strongly in Cochin as in any other part of India.

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Your Highness has alluded to the Harbour of Cochin. I can fully appreciate and sympathise with the hopes which Your Highness and your subjects must feel in connection with the further development of this magnificent harbour. I am deeply touched by the kind reference which Your Highness has made to the part I played in initiating and furthering the development of the Cochin Harbour, and I have no hesitation in saying that I have always regarded my own efforts in this connection with satisfaction, and I still retain faith in the scheme which first attracted my interest many years ago. I therefore gladly accede to Your Highness' request to associate my name with the Harbour.

It was, perhaps, inevitable that in a scheme of this magnitude, problems and difficulties which could hardly have been clearly foreseen would arise at a later stage. As Your Highness is aware, a Conference will be held very shortly between the representatives of the Cochin and Travancore Durbars, and the Governments of India and Madras in the hope that by mutual discussion the problems which have arisen with regard to the further development of the Harbour may be satisfactorily settled on lines which will enable Cochin to take its place as one of India's major Ports to the great advantage both of the Darbar and of India as a whole. I have no doubt whatsoever that with good-will on all sides, it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution of these problems. I have every confidence in the future of a harbour so fully endowed with natural advantages and with such wonderful potentialities ; I am optimistic enough to believe that the existing trade depression which must affect the prospects of Cochin as of all other ports, will before long pass away, and my imagination reaches out to a future when India's increasing industries and commerce will inevitably demand more outlets than they have hitherto had,

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and the enterprise which led to the construction of this harbour will be justified in full measure by the great benefits it will confer.

It was with feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction that I listened to Your Highness' remarks upon the question of Federation. May I say that I entirely share Your Highness' conviction that an All-India Federation with necessary safeguards will be to the advantage and in the interests of the States and British India alike. There are, as Your Highness has so justly observed, many difficulties still to be surmounted before Federation can be brought into being, but I am convinced that if all the Parties concerned will approach the problem in the same generous and confident spirit which has manifested itself in Your Highness' words this evening, the difficulties to which I have referred will be quickly overcome.

I thank Your Highness most gratefully for the generous and graceful remarks which you have made with regard to my wife's constant efforts and activities on behalf of the women of India. I can assure Your Highness that there could be nothing calculated to give Her Excellency greater pleasure than the news of Your Highness' munificent gift of three lakhs of rupees to the Hospitals and Dispensaries in the State, and of a further lakh of rupees to Welfare Work in Rural Areas in honour of Her Excellency's visit.

In conclusion, I would like to express to Your Highness the great pleasure which your recent visit to Delhi afforded me, though it was a matter of deep regret that the enjoyment of your visit should have been marred by illness. I am very happy to see that you have now fully recovered and I trust that many years of health and activity lie before Your Highness.

State Banquet at Trivandrum.

Once again, I thank Your Highness very warmly for your kindness and hospitality. I will now ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking to the long life, health and prosperity of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.

STATE BANQUET AT TRIVANDRUM.

10th Decem-
ber 1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum (Travancore) on the 10th December 1933 :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me thank you Your Highness very gratefully for the charming terms in which you have welcomed my wife and myself to your State, and for the generous references which Your Highness has made to the value of such public service as it has been our privilege to have been engaged in during past years. With all that you have said as to my wife's activities, I most fully and cordially agree, and for myself, I can but say that I have been grateful indeed for the opportunities that have presented themselves to me of doing public service for my Sovereign for many years, during the course of which I have made many abiding friendships in various parts of the British Empire.

Our visit here recalls to my mind the occasions when we came here as the guests of His late Highness, your predecessor, who ruled over the State for long years and was universally beloved and respected by all who knew him.

And now it is our privilege to be the guests of Your Highness who has only recently succeeded to the duties and responsibilities of your great position. I have seen Your Highness grow up to manhood under the careful guidance of Her Highness, your mother, and I must

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congratulate you warmly on the interest and zeal which you have already shown in your desire to forward the progress and betterment of your people.

Your Highness has quoted this evening in the course of your remarks, the historical saying “*Dilli dur ast*” to denote the geographical remoteness of Travancore from the centre of Government in India. It cannot be denied that in a purely geographical sense, this phrase is peculiarly true of Trivandrum. And although the disadvantages of distance are rapidly being overcome, largely by the development of Aviation, it must, I think, be admitted that, for the present, the distance of Travancore from the seat of Government does constitute some material obstacle to personal relations. But, in this regard, I cordially welcome and reciprocate the sentiment expressed by Your Highness to the effect that mutual ties of confidence and good-will annihilate mere physical distance.

I have listened with great pleasure to Your Highness’ expressions of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. From my long acquaintance with the House of Travancore I can confidently assert that the loyalty of the Travancore Ruling Family is proverbial and needs no verbal embellishment from me, but I keenly appreciate the fact that Your Highness’ recent personal contact with our beloved Sovereign and Her Majesty has warmed and coloured that traditional loyalty which Travancore has always shown towards the British Crown.

I was greatly interested to hear from Your Highness of the various activities in regard to your State in which you have been engaged during the first two years of your rule. In the first place, let me congratulate you very sincerely upon the appointment of a Public Services Committee, which will afford to all classes of Your Highness’ subjects an equal opportunity of serving in the

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administration of your State. I have no hesitation in saying that I regard this as a statesmanlike and far-seeing policy. Travancore, like many administrations, not only in India, but throughout the world, is feeling the reaction caused by the impact of modern democratic ideas upon an old culture and the old order of things. Communities which have hitherto taken small part in public affairs—however contentedly they may have lived—are now aspiring to a great share in administrative and social activities, but I am convinced that Your Highness' pronouncement which will no doubt shortly be implemented, will go far to remove any misunderstanding in this connection among certain sections of Your Highness' subjects and I should like to take this opportunity of stressing the need for all classes and communities to cast aside suspicion and mistrust, and to co-operate with Your Highness in your laudable endeavour to promote equality of opportunity throughout the State. Those of Your Highness' subjects who have been so ill-advised as to abstain from participation in the recent constitutional changes should bear in mind that political and social development is a process of slow growth which would only be hindered by sudden and sweeping changes calculated to upset an order of things which has gradually developed through many long years.

I am fully alive to the difficulty of finding suitable employment for the large number of young men who nowadays pass through our universities and colleges, and it is probable that this problem is nowhere more acute than in Travancore where the general standard of education is so high. I was therefore particularly gratified to learn that Your Highness is fully alive to the necessity of assisting this problem by the policy of industrial development which Your Highness outlined in your speech.

*Laying of the foundation stone of the new Legislative Chamber
in Trivandrum.*

I understand that Your Highness is being good enough to ask me, during the course of my visit, to lay the foundation stone of a building which will house the new Legislature brought into being by Your Highness. Travancore has, in the matter of constitutional Reforms, always moved in the van of progress, and I shall watch with sympathy and interest Your Highness' efforts to ensure a closer association of your people with your Government.

In conclusion, I would like once more to congratulate Your Highness on the keen and courageous manner in which you are carrying out your heavy responsibilities. It is true that you have only exercised your ruling powers for the last two years but your record of achievement and your programme mapped out for the future is one which would be a credit to a Ruler of many years' standing. I look forward, with hope to a future in which the State of Travancore will not only enjoy increasing internal prosperity but will play a part worthy of its status in the great federation of States and Provinces which is to direct in the future the affairs of this great Country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink with me to the health, happiness and prosperity of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW
LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER IN TRIVANDRUM.

In laying the Foundation stone of the new Legislative Chamber in Trivandrum, on the 12th December 1933 His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Few things could possibly give me more pleasure than to have been

*Laying of the foundation stone of the new Legislative Chamber
in Trivandrum.*

invited today to take the principal part in this interesting ceremony for which we are gathered, and at Your Highness' request to lay the foundation stone of the building which is to house the new Legislature of Travancore. I must confess I am no great expert with regard to plans of buildings, but Her Excellency is a great judge on such matters and Your Highness may be pleased to hear that she thoroughly approves of the proposed building. With her expert view to support me I can very sincerely say that I trust that the handsome and imposing structure which will arise on this spot will do much to further the high ideals and aspirations which have inspired Your Highness in your scheme for the closer association of your people with the administrative concern of your State.

It is interesting to note that this scheme of Constitutional Reforms for your people, of which Your Highness has given us such an interesting description, has anticipated the larger Reform Scheme for the whole of India which has been engaging the active and earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India for some years. Your Highness' State has long been noted for its progressive traditions, and I trust and believe that this further advance on which your Government has seen fit to embark will prove well fitted to the genius of Travancore. I hope that those who are destined to take their seats in the new Assembly and the new Council will show themselves in every way worthy of their responsibilities. And, while differences must constantly arise between the representatives of various schools of political thought, I sincerely trust that, as time goes on, the sinister figure of communal prejudice which has proved so great a handicap to the unity and development of this country will recede further and further into

Address from the Pudukkottai Municipal Council.

the background. I hope that all the Members of the Travancore Council and Assembly, irrespective of their caste and religious creed, will be inspired by a common desire to promote the welfare of the State and by a feeling of unwavering loyalty to their Ruling Prince.

ADDRESS FROM THE PUDUKKOTTAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

In replying to the Address presented by the Pudukkottai Municipal Council on 13th December 1933, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you very warmly on behalf of Her Excellency and myself for the cordiality of your address and for the loyal sentiments which you, Sir, have expressed as Chairman of the Pudukkottai Municipal Council. I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to us both to have this opportunity of paying this all too brief visit to your charming town, more especially since you tell me that I am the first Viceroy to have done so. Far be it for me to criticise my predecessors in office but I feel bound to say that if they had realised what they were missing, I should not find myself in the privileged position which I do today, and I can only add that since the State of Pudukkottai is now in direct relation with the Viceroy through the Agent to the Governor-General of the Madras States, it would seem that you can look forward to visits from future Viceroys during the course of their tours in Southern India.

You, Sir, in your address referred to the “towering edifices” that adorn the town. So far this morning I have only seen but one of these—namely, the imposing building of His Highness the Raja’s College, but if that is a criterion of the others which I look forward to seeing during the course of my drive which is still before me, you are, in my opinion, guilty of no exaggeration in the

Address from the Pudukkottai Municipal Council.

enthusiastic description which you gave me of your public buildings. The pride which the Members of the Municipality take in your town, which it is your duty to maintain and develop, is manifest throughout your address and I feel that there could be no happier augury for the success of your efforts towards future improvements and the betterment of conditions for those who live in Pudukkottai.

I was particularly pleased to listen in your address to the expressions of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and also to His Highness the Raja. The Viceroy stands in a position of peculiar responsibility for the administration of a State during a Minority and it was therefore all the more gratifying to me to find the citizens of Pudukkottai united in their loyalty towards the King-Emperor and their young Rajah. India, at the present time, is on the threshold of important and far-reaching constitutional changes, and at such a time no qualities are more essential to the well-being and prosperity of a State than loyalty to its Rulers and harmony among its citizens. I am happy to think that Pudukkottai is well endowed with these qualities, and I look forward with confidence to the day when His Highness, grown to manhood, will himself take over the reins of administration among a loyal, progressive and harmonious community.

I do not propose today to comment on the many material improvements which you tell me have recently been made in your town beyond saying that they bear further testimony, if any were needed, of the spirit of hearty co-operation which prevails between the Darbar and the Municipality—whilst I congratulate all concerned on this happy state of affairs. I would like especially to record my appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Holdsworth, the Administrator of the State, in the

Address from the Corporation of Madras.

discharge of his duties during the past two years, has worked so successfully to this end.

In conclusion, let me thank you once again for the charming welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself today. We are delighted to be amongst you and look forward to the remainder of our visit during which we hope to make the closer acquaintance of many of the citizens of the only " Tamil State in India ".

ADDRESS FROM THE CORPORATION OF MADRAS.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Corporation of Madras on 14th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

Mr. Mayor and Councillors of the Corporation of Madras,—I am grateful indeed for your sincere and cordial greetings to Her Excellency and myself this morning on our arrival in your city whose history is so full of the earliest associations of our two races in the life of this country. We are glad too to know that you do not look upon us as utter strangers ; may I be allowed to hope that you still consider us old friends.

We are eagerly anticipating during the few days of our stay amongst you to revisit old haunts, to recall happy recollections of our official lives here and to renew our acquaintance with many old friends ; and while I hope to learn something of the many developments that have taken place here since I left you, my wife will I know occupy herself in visiting many of those social organisations in which she took such an active interest in past years.

Let me thank you, Sir, sincerely for your expressions of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor, which I shall as soon as possible convey to His Majesty from his loyal subjects in Madras, and, in thanking you again for your friendly greeting, let me express the con-

Address from the European Association, Madras Branch.

fidant hope that the people of your city and Presidency will continue to set that fine example of public spirit and good citizenship in the future which they have always shown in the developments of the administrative life of India in the past.

ADDRESS FROM THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION,
MADRAS BRANCH.

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address presented to him by the European Association of Madras Branch on 14th December :—

Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you, Sir, for the charming words with which you have welcomed Lady Willingdon and myself today. I confess to you that my feelings at this moment are rather those of an “ Old Boy ” returning on a visit after a few years’ absence to his Public School. Some of the boys of my day have now become Masters, some of the Masters of my day have, alas, passed on or have retired. But the splendid traditions of the Old School remain the same and Madras indeed stands very high as she always has done in the realms of work and play in this country.

I greatly appreciate your friendly reference to the part I played in the introduction of the Reforms in 1919. It is true, as you have said, Sir, that with the impending Constitutional changes, I have a much more responsible part to play. I can only say that, assisted, as I am, by wise counsellors, counting, as I safely can, upon the co-operation of able administrators and loyal services, relying as I do on the counsel and advice of many old and valued non-official friends, I face that responsibility with every hope and confidence.

Sir, on behalf of the Members of the Madras Branch of the European Association you have assured me of

Address from the Madras Chamber of Commerce.

your loyal support in all measures I may take for the preservation of law and order. I welcome that assurance. That the measures which I and my Government have found it necessary to take in order to ensure obedience to the law have had a beneficial influence in the country is a fact which no amount of argument can deny and the improved situation and more peaceful political atmosphere in India are undoubtedly a proof of that fact if one were needed.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your address and for the warmth of your welcome both to Lady Willingdon and myself.

ADDRESS FROM THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from the Madras Chamber of Commerce on 14th December to which he made the following reply :—

Gentlemen,—It is a very real pleasure to Lady Willingdon and myself to visit Madras once again, and that pleasure is greatly enhanced by the charming words with which you, Sir, on behalf of the Members of the Madras Chamber of Commerce have welcomed us this morning. Your generous references to such services as we were able to render to this great Presidency in the years that we were privileged to live amongst you, have touched us both deeply, and have brought back to our minds a vivid recollection of kindly and friendly support received at the hands of all communities in assisting us to carry out our duties during those five happy years.

And now I come amongst you again, for all too short a visit, as Viceroy. I confess to you that when I was Governor of Madras and was anxious to inaugurate certain schemes which I considered to be of real benefit

Address from the United Planters' Association of Southern India.

to the Presidency, and when those schemes were not always viewed sympathetically by the Government of India, I used to think that that important body were somewhat unreasonable in their outlook. But now, gentlemen, my views have necessarily changed. For instead of being the advocate in these matters, as I was in the past, I am today the Chief Defendant. And it is for this reason that I am particularly grateful to you, gentlemen, for telling me that you have no matter of outstanding importance affecting the Mercantile community of this Province which you wish to bring to my notice.

You do, however, call my attention to the heavy burden of taxation under which we in India are labouring at the present time. I fully appreciate your anxiety that this burden should be lifted at the earliest possible opportunity, for I realise that heavy taxation is necessarily a serious handicap to business and new enterprise. I can only say that I and my Government are very closely watching the financial position, and that it is our earnest intention to bring relief in this direction as soon it is possible to do so.

In conclusion, let me thank you once again for your address and the kindly sentiments which it contains.

ADDRESS FROM THE UNITED PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

14th December 1933. The United Planters' Association of Southern India presented an Address of Welcome at Madras on the 14th December to His Excellency the Viceroy, who replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I am very pleased to have this opportunity of meeting once again the representatives of the

Address from the United Planters' Association of Southern India.

United Planters' Association of Southern India, for, as you rightly said in your address, your organisation is not unknown to me—indeed I can fairly say that during my term of office as Governor of this Presidency I often enjoyed your hospitality. I kept in close touch with your activities realising then, as I do now, the importance of the interests which you represent.

Your expression of thanks to my Government for carrying through the Tea Restriction Act affords me much gratification. As you know, the Act is so framed that the tea interests themselves furnish the agency for the administration, and that agency raises the necessary funds by certain small fees falling on those interests. The Act, therefore, is of the desirable type whereby Government does not so much help an industry as place it in a position effectively to help itself. I feel sure that the Committee established under the Act will use its powers wisely and energetically and so help one of India's most important industries to a speedier return to the prosperity which its enterprise so richly deserves.

As you are, I am sure, aware, the question of the co-ordination of road and rail transport has been receiving the attention of my Government. In the spring of this year a Conference was held in Simla of all the interests concerned. The resolutions passed by that Conference are now under the active consideration of Government. As regards the Pollachi-Vannanthorai Railway project, the consideration of this has been actively pursued and the South Indian Railway have recently been authorised to revise the traffic survey, and if this shows that the project is likely to be remunerative, steps will be taken to arrange for construction of the line.

Address from the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

I was very glad to hear that you look forward with confidence to the coming Federation of India as an integral part of the British Empire, and that you desire to assist in every way in the forthcoming constitutional changes. Such a vast undertaking will need the co-operation of all classes and communities in this country in order to ensure the success of a scheme which I honestly believe to be in the best interests of India as a whole.

May I, in conclusion, gratefully acknowledge your charming references to Her Excellency who has the happiest memories of her life amongst you in Madras. Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your address and for the loyal and friendly sentiments expressed therein.

ADDRESS FROM THE SOUTHERN INDIA CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE.

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

In reply to an Address presented by the Southern India Chamber of Commerce to the Viceroy at Madras on 14th December, His Excellency said in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—It was with great pleasure that I listened to the charming remarks with which you, Sir, welcomed Lady Willingdon and myself back to Madras today. Your references to the services which I was privileged to render to this great Presidency in the past were all too flattering but I am happy to think that I carry with me, at this important stage of India's history, the confidence of the members of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

You refer, Sir, in your address to the "wide disparity" shown in the White Paper proposals as regards the representation of Indian and European Commerce in the Provincial Legislatures and you mention that nothing would be more fatal to the working

Address from the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

of the new Constitution than an ever present sense of inequality on the part of any section of the population. With this latter observation, I am in complete agreement, but when I came to examine the "wide disparity" to which you referred, I confess that I was unable to follow your reasoning. Six seats, under the Franchise Committee's scheme, have been allotted as a whole to the Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting interests of this Presidency, of which one seat is intended for the Planting interests alone. This leaves five seats for Commerce and Industry, of which three will be European and two will be Indian. This can hardly be called a "wide disparity". In fact I can say with some knowledge that I think it represents very fairly the present distribution of Commerce and Industry between the two communities.

You have referred to various important matters in connection with the control and administration of Railways. I feel sure that you will not expect me to deal at length with these matters upon the present occasion, but I can assure you that the points raised by you will receive the careful consideration of my Government. At this stage I will only refer to the question of the taking over of the administration of Company-managed Railways as their contracts fall due for termination. I note that you recommend such a course, though you consider the benefits of State management are still to appear. An indication of our policy on this matter can be found from the fact that until economic causes rendered it necessary to restrict our borrowings as much as possible, every railway, whose contracts fell due for termination, was purchased by the State. Purchase of the Assam-Bengal, the Bengal and North-Western and the Rohilkund and Kumaon Railways was found to be unremunerative at the rate of interest we then had to pay for loans,

Address from the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

and was therefore decided against : but, as you know, in the case of the two latter we obtained by negotiation the option of purchase after five or ten years, which option was not admissible under the original contract. It is evident that each case must be considered on its merits with reference to the circumstances prevailing at the time, but I can assure you that the point which you have raised and which is, I know, shared by many in this country, will receive the fullest consideration in any decision which may be reached.

You have expressed the hope that by bold steps to cut down expenditure, my Government may find it possible to reduce the present heavy burden of taxation, and I gather that you have in mind particularly a reduction in the surcharges on income-tax and super-tax. You are aware, I am sure, of the great and effective efforts which we have already made to reduce the cost of administration—even at the expense of much hardship to individuals and the curtailment of activities which in more normal times we would wish to develop. The continuing necessity for high rates of taxation is the result not of any policy of Government but of the continued world depression, and it is an unfortunate necessity which is, at present, shared by every other country in the world. It would be wrong, therefore, for me to hold out any strong hope that it will be practicable to obtain further economies of so substantial a character as by themselves to permit of an immediate reduction of taxation.

I sympathise with your anxiety about the Chettiar community in Indo-China. The treatment accorded to these Merchants and Bankers has been a matter of lively concern to my Government which has spared no efforts to obtain the withdrawal of the expulsion orders passed against the five Chettiers, and I am glad to know that

Address from the Madras Chamber of Local Boards.

these efforts and the representations made by His Majesty's Government, through the British Ambassador in Paris have already been rewarded by some measure of success. I can but assure you that my Government will continue to do all that is possible to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Chettiar community in Indo-China.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me thank you once again for your warm welcome. I wish you every success and prosperity in the coming year which will, I trust, bring in its train a world-wide improvement in economic conditions.

ADDRESS FROM THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF LOCAL
BOARDS.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address presented to him by the Madras Chamber of Local Boards on 14th December 1933. —

Gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, and the Members of the Madras Chamber of Local Boards, for the kindly welcome you have given me on my first visit to Madras since I was appointed Viceroy of India over 2½ years ago. I am delighted to meet you for I feel that I am renewing my acquaintance with many old friends, and am glad to have this opportunity of learning something of the further development of Local Board administration here in which, I think, I may claim I took an active interest when I had the honour of being Governor of this Presidency.

You seem to have advanced considerably since the day when my Government has handed over the responsibility of local administration to non-officials, for I

Address from the Madras Chamber of Local Boards.

understand from you that the Government of His Excellency, your present Governor, have further liberalised your powers by making the administration of your local authorities entirely under popular control, and by removing the right of Government to nominate members entirely.

I am quite sure that you will have fully appreciated the confidence that our Government have shown in you, and are exercising your great responsibilities with honesty and integrity of purpose and with a sincere and whole-hearted desire to work in the best interest of all the people placed under your care. I have been much interested to learn of your establishment of this organisation which you represent here today, the Madras Chamber of Local Boards. I can imagine nothing more helpful to your work than that the President of District, Taluk and Panchayat Boards should meet together from time to time, and by co-operation and mutual consultation endeavour to improve the general working of your Local Boards. I also congratulate you sincerely on the publication of your Local Self-Government quarterly which should help you materially towards that end.

I am sure you will not expect me to say anything of the difficulties which you tell me handicap you in your efforts to further the efficiency of your Local Board administration. These are matters of local and domestic concern on which you will not expect me to touch. I can assure you of this, however, that no one is more anxious than I am to see this heavy cloud of economic depression disappear from our sky, and to find India increasing her activities in all the nation-building interests of our country.

Let me thank you, gentlemen, once again for coming here to meet me today. I have always felt that work

Address from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India.

done by any individual on any local body in any country, work which is unselfishly and voluntarily given, is of the greatest importance in administering for the comfort and well-being of the people, and I, therefore, wish you God-speed in carrying on your labours for the improvement of the condition of your fellow-countrymen.

ADDRESS FROM THE ANGLO-INDIAN AND DOMICILED
EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address presented to him at Madras by the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India on 14th December :—

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

Gentlemen,—Let me thank you, Sir, at once for the very cordial terms with which you have welcomed my wife and myself back to Madras. It is, I can assure you, a source of great satisfaction and pleasure to us both to realise that just as we have the happiest recollections and memories of many old friends in this great Presidency so have many of those old friends come forward today to meet us once again and renew our friendship. May I also offer you my warm congratulations upon the celebration of your Golden Jubilee? An Association, such as yours, which has stood the test of time so well, can surely count itself as being built on a solid foundation which will ensure for your community the furtherance of your progress and happiness.

I remember well the entertainment which your Association was good enough to give me just before I laid down my office as Governor of Madras, and I am delighted to think that the congratulations which I offered on that occasion to the young men of your community on

Address from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India.

their successes in the realm of sport in 1924 can be renewed and are equally deserved in 1933.

I am gratified to hear of the practical proof which your Association has given of its appreciation of the importance of education for the advancement of the community by the award of scholarships to young men and women who, without such assistance, might not have been able to derive the benefits of collegiate education. Education will provide the most effective safeguard of the economic interest of the community about which you naturally feel deeply concerned. But, as an integral part of the population of this country, the community must aim at closer affiliation with the main educational system, while retaining its own cultural and religious individuality.

The final conclusions of the Secretary of State on the report of the Irwin Committee to which you refer have already been communicated to all Local Governments, and I understand that the Provincial Board recommended for each Province has already been appointed for Madras. I earnestly hope that the steps taken as a result of that report to secure closer co-ordination of Anglo-Indian and European education in the country will be fruitful of substantial and lasting benefit to the community.

As regards the recommendations of the Telegraph Establishment Enquiry, which was presided over by Mr. S. P. Varma, it is, of course, evident that the arrangements for staffing that branch of the Service must be determined with primary reference to the nature of the work to be done and to the staff necessary for it and to the need for economy. But I appreciate fully the apprehensions of your community, and you may rest

Address from the Madras Presidency Muslim League.

assured that the consideration to which you draw attention are in no danger of being overlooked. Every effort will be made in the course of the detailed consideration of the report which is now in hand to ensure that any changes that may be decided upon will not be accompanied by any avoidable hardship.

I thank you once again, gentlemen, for the friendly terms of your address and for the loyal sentiments contained therein and conclude by expressing my sincere good wishes for your progress and welfare in the future.

ADDRESS FROM THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY MUSLIM LEAGUE.

In reply to an Address of Welcome presented by the Madras Presidency Muslim League at Madras on 14th December, 14th December 1933.
His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I wish, in the first place, to express to you my warm thanks for the cordiality of your welcome to me this morning, and to assure you that I am pleased to have this opportunity of meeting the members of the Muslim League of Madras.

I am very grateful to you, Sir, for the kindly expressions you have used in referring to the manner in which the foundations were laid for the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms when I had the honour to be the Governor of this Presidency. Though I fear that it may be possible that other Provinces may not altogether agree with your claim that dyarchy has attained here a greater measure of success than elsewhere in India, it will always be a pleasure to me to remember the generous advice and support which I received from many friends here at the time when those Reforms were being developed in a Constitutional and Parliamentary spirit. The

*Address from the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes
Federation.*

experience thus gained during the past few years will prepare you for the coming advance to a great Federal Scheme for all India.

You have expressed the hope in your address, gentlemen, that your rights and interests may be safeguarded under the new constitution. Let me assure you that my purpose, so long as I am Viceroy, will be to see that fairness and equality of opportunity are given to all communities and may I say that I have no doubt that, while seeking to promote the interests of your own community, you share to the full my own anxiety to reach a just balance between the many communal and other interests in this country.

I thank you once again, gentlemen, for the cordiality of your welcome and for the loyal sentiments contained therein, and in conclusion let me assure you that I shall always take a keen interest in your welfare and wish you all prosperity and happiness.

ADDRESS FROM THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL
DEPRESSED CLASSES FEDERATION.

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address from the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation on the 14th December at Madras and replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—Let me first express my great appreciation of the terms in which you refer to my previous stay among you as Governor of this Presidency. It is a great pleasure to renew my acquaintance with the scenes I knew so well ten years ago.

The classes you represent occupy an important place in the life of India and particularly of Madras, and the question of their economic and social condition and their

Address from the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation.

interests in general is one that has always had my attention. It therefore gives me particular gratification to find in your address a recognition by yourselves of an improvement in the condition of your community, and I trust that this improvement will continue.

Your address contains a wide variety of requests. Several raise general conditions of some magnitude on which it is impossible to comment here. Such are the suggested establishment of settlements for your community or the appointment of a Royal Commission. Others, such as the opening of schools and the position of the Labour Commissioner, seem primarily the concern of your Local Government who, I have no doubt, have been made aware of your desires and will give them full consideration. You attach much importance to the education of your children and you are wise, I think, in this appreciation of the need for a good educational basis. There is, however, more than one side to this as to most other problems; Government may provide teachers, but satisfactory results cannot follow unless parents co-operate by securing regular attendance on the part of their children. I have no doubt that you are prepared to help in this way to the best of your ability.

Many of the matters affecting your community are, as I have suggested, mainly for your Provincial Government to consider. You may, however, be sure that the present position and the future prospects of so important a section of India's population will not fail to receive full attention in other quarters also.

In conclusion, there is one consideration I would impress upon you. Remember that whatever may be done by governmental or other outside agency, the progress of your community in the directions you desire

Address of Welcome presented by the Anjuman-e-Mufeeda-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

must in the last resort depend largely on yourselves, on a clear appreciation of your true needs and on the unity and solidarity you are able to achieve in their pursuit. But in all such concentration on your position, bear in mind also that your own interests are best served not by setting those interests as a thing apart, but by associating them with the interests of the larger confraternity to which you, as citizens of the Presidency of Madras, rightfully and honourably belong.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE ANJUMAN-E-MUFEEDE-AHL-E-ISLAM AND THE MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA, MADRAS.

14th December 1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied in the following terms to the Address presented to him at Madras on 14th December :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of meeting this morning the members of the Anjuman-e-Mufeeda-e-Ahl-e-Islam and of the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India. That pleasure has been greatly enhanced by the friendly and cordial terms in which you, Sir, on behalf of your colleagues, have welcomed me back to Madras.

It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction to me to learn that your community has made such great strides in educational matters, particularly so as I find from enquiry that literacy is now more advanced amongst the Muhammadan than amongst those of other communities in this Presidency. This reflects great credit on the Madras Muslims in general and on your Association in

Address of Welcome presented by the Anjuman-e-Mufeeda-e-Ahl-e-Islam and the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras.

particular. I would express the hope that similar progress will soon be made in the education of the young ladies of your community.

You have referred to the question of unemployment among the educated classes and have suggested that the volume of unemployment has been rendered greater by the increasing number of pupils at school and college. This difficulty is likely to be removed, not by giving less education but rather by providing more suitable education for those whose bent does not lie in the direction of literary studies. I agree with you, however, that this question of unemployment requires earnest co-operation between Government and all interests concerned.

I listened with pleasure to the gratitude you expressed at the sympathy with which the status and claims of the Muslims had been considered at the recent constitutional deliberations. You also pressed the plea that in the framing of the new Constitution the interests of the Muslim community should be adequately and effectively safeguarded. In this regard I feel sure that your doubts must be allayed by the arrangements made in the White Paper whereby it is evident that the proposals have been drawn up with the clear idea of securing the legitimate interests of the Muslim, and indeed of all minority communities.

In conclusion, let me thank you once again for the warmth of the welcome you have extended to me today and let me assure you that you and all the members of your Association have my sincere good wishes in the task of educational and social advancement which you are undertaking.

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF MADRAS.

14th Decem-
ber 1933.

In reply to the Address from the Indian Christian Association of Madras, on the 14th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you, Sir, and the Members of the Indian Christian Association, very warmly for the cordial welcome which you have extended to Lady Willingdon and myself today. I appreciate fully your kindly references to such help as we were able to give to you during those happy years that we were privileged to live amongst you, and although this is but a fleeting visit, we are both looking forward with keen anticipation to renewing old friendships and to seeing once again those familiar buildings and institutions of which we have such happy memories ; and I think, gentlemen, you will agree if you have studied our programme at all, that we intend to make full use of the short time at our disposal in this regard.

You invite my attention to the difficulties which you are experiencing in regard to appointments to the Public Services and represent that your community has not received the same measure of recognition as other communities. In regard to the All-India Services with which I and my Government are principally concerned, I do not think the position is as bad as you make it out to be. Your community is only a very small percentage of the total population of British India, yet you are well represented in the Indian Civil Service as a whole, as I understand that you have 21 posts out of 347 held by Indians ; whilst you have received, since 1925 when we first took steps to secure adequate representation of the minority communities, a full share of appointments. I may remind you that it is only if a community fails to obtain its share of appointments in open competition that we resort to a system of nomination to redress inequali-

Madras Trades Association Dinner.

ties. Members of your community have been well able to hold their own in the open competition—a result on which I congratulate you, and it is because of this fact that it has not been found necessary to nominate many Indian Christians to the Indian Civil Service. You are also not inadequately represented in the Indian Police in the Madras Presidency, for I am told that about 9 per cent. of the posts in that Service held by Indians are held by members of your community. You refer also to the fact that here is not now an Indian Christian on the Bench of the Madras High Court, I am sorry that you are not at the present time represented on that Court but I am afraid that I cannot accept your plea that if a member of a particular community vacates an office in a High Court, he must be succeeded by a member of the same community. In these appointments the main criterion must necessarily be that of legal qualifications and such appointments are not made on a communal basis. Provincial appointments to which you also draw my attention rest with your Local Government who, I know, have devoted much attention to the very difficult problem of securing adequate representation of the various classes and communities in the Madras Presidency. They will, I feel sure, continue to pay due consideration to your claims.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me thank you once more for the kindly terms of your address and let me express my pleasure at meeting again the members of the Indian Christian Association of Madras.

MADRAS TRADES ASSOCIATION DINNER.

His Excellency the Viceroy was entertained to a dinner by the Members of the Madras Trades Association where he made

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ber 1933.

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the following speech on 14th December :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There is nothing more pleasant to any man who has done many years of public service than to re-visit old haunts and to renew acquaintance with old friends ; yes, and to receive such a wonderful welcome as you have given us here tonight. Let me thank you then, ladies and gentlemen, for the warmth of your greeting, and you, Sir, for the extraordinarily generous manner in which you have referred to us both tonight.

But I feel that an apology is due from us both to all our friends in Madras owing to the fact that we have delayed so long in paying you our long promised visit, but you must believe me when I say that while the spirit has been very willing, circumstances over which I and my Government and all Provincial Governments have had to keep constant control have prevented our coming before. I confess that when I was getting towards the completion of my term of office in Canada after about 16 years almost continuous service in India, in China and Canada, I felt that it was almost a fair thing to expect that at my mature time of life I might be given a holiday and some rest from my public work. But it was not to be. The call of duty came and we both agreed that we must continue to serve our Sovereign in this wonderful part of the Empire.

I have often been asked if I am glad to return to my work in India. After $2\frac{1}{2}$ years experience of the duties of Viceroy, I can truly say that I am very glad indeed. I am not going to detain you tonight with any detailed account of that period, but I think it is true to say that these years have been some of the most anxious and at the same time the most interesting that this country has ever passed through. But I am glad to be

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here at this juncture as head of the Government of India, for I have learnt and appreciated more than ever before the loyal and devoted support I have received from all the great services in this country, and I feel that my many Indian friends throughout this country trusted and believed that every action that has been taken in the past by my Government was taken with one purpose and one purpose alone, namely, to push India on to her goal of equality of status within the Empire, a goal for which I can claim I have consistently worked since I first became associated with her affairs.

And, Sir, when I look back over the 5 years in Madras I know very well how much my experiences gained here have helped me in my work during the past 2½ years I can remember very well, and you, Sir, have already referred to it, that when first I arrived here I had to start the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and many of you will recollect that there was a very acute difference between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins over the reservation of seats. I should like here to pay my tribute to the memory of my old friend, Sir Raja-gopalachari, the first President of the new Legislative Council under those Reforms, for it was very largely due to his wise and broad-minded advice that I determined to start those Reforms on purely constitutional lines, and the result has, I believe, been that the acuteness of this difference has lessened considerably, and that parties here are forming much more on matters of policy and not on questions of caste and communal differences—a state of things which I hope may be followed under these larger Reforms which are now on the anvil and thus get rid largely of the acuteness of our communal differences.

I remember too the Moplah Rebellion, largely brought about by the non-co-operation movement, and the first

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civil disobedience effort in the Guntur district, both of which gave me some experience of the dangers to tranquillity attached to these subversive activities, and helped me much in guiding my actions in these recent years. Ladies and gentlemen, the Madras Presidency has always held the position of being *primus inter pares* among the Provinces in India and has always set a good example of sound and just administration and of loyal and law-abiding citizenship. Whether the sound administration is due to the excellence of its Governors I suppose you, Your Excellency, and I must leave it to others to decide. But this at least you can claim, Sir, that under your wise guidance the Madras Presidency has kept up the high standard of its administrative life, and I should like here and now to congratulate you warmly on your satisfactory budgetary position notwithstanding the fact that this country is still severely feeling the economic depression which is affecting the whole civilized world.

I am very grateful to you that in your speech you have refrained from saying much on trade matters, for I am sure you have realised that before many weeks I have to address all the great trade interests of India in Calcutta and it would be impossible for me to anticipate that occasion. But I would like to make this one observation on this matter. As I have already said, we have been passing through a period of the most acute economic depression for the last three years, and we are not through our difficulties yet. But I am, like you Sir, an optimist and believe we have touched the bedrock of our troubles. I am full of admiration and gratitude at the manner in which all classes of the people have stood the strain of these most trying times. I am fully alive to the hardships and suffering which these times have brought in their train. I can only assure you that my Government and I are fully alive to the fact that high taxation may

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often be a handicap to normal trade and in consequence to Government revenues, and that we recognise the desirability of a lightening of these burdens if and when we find it possible to do so.

There is only one other matter I wish to refer to this evening, and that is to my mind so important that I have left it to the end. I refer to the fact that a member of your Association has been elected the first Mayor of Madras. Let me congratulate Mr. Ladden very warmly on his election, and express the hope that his term of office may prove of great advantage to the people of this Presidency. Let me very sincerely congratulate too our Indian fellow-citizens who have been largely responsible for Mr. Ladden's election, in showing an absence of racial discrimination in their desire to secure the best man for the post. Surely this is a fine example set by Madras at the present time ; and may we not hope that when the great scheme of Federation becomes law we shall find, both in the Provinces and at the Centre, Indian Prime Ministers, in forming their Cabinets, putting forward the names of my countrymen as their colleagues in order to secure the best interests of their administration ?

Once again let me thank you for the delightful welcome you have given us both tonight, and let me wish your Association greater success and increasing prosperity in the future. It is good indeed to feel that some of you still remember our work amongst you during the five happy years we spent in your midst, better still to learn that you have a warm corner in your hearts for two people who did their best while they were with you to forward the best interests, the progress and prosperity of the people of this great Presidency.

OPENING CEREMONY OF THE VIZAGAPATAM
HARBOUR.19th Decem-
ber 1933.

In the opening ceremony of the Vizagapatam Harbour on 19th December, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We meet here today to celebrate the completion of one more stage in India's progress towards a great industrial future. Fundamentally, a Port is merely a link in the chain of a Nation's communications at which facilities exist for the economical and expeditious transfer of passengers and goods from one mode of transport to another. Some Nations have been blessed by Nature with an abundance of so-called natural harbours, where these operations can be carried out with a minimum of assistance from man. Others, less fortunate, have been handicapped by a dearth of natural facilities which has been rectified to a greater or less extent by the enterprise of their peoples. As the researches of the historian and archaeologist probe further into India's past, we become conscious that inter-communication between this sub-continent and adjacent lands beyond the seas is of far greater antiquity than was formerly supposed, and I have little doubt that the shrines in the vicinity of this spot, whose sanctity is connected with sea-faring men, indicate that for many centuries Vizagapatam has welcomed the mariner from overseas and despatched argosies to distant countries. Such shelter, as it provided in the past, was adequate to the needs of those early sailors and merchants with their diminutive craft ; but its failure to meet modern requirements and the absence of other harbours on the Coromondal coast has for many years been all too apparent. In fact, as Mr. Ash has pointed out, there was—before the construction of the port at Madras—no port, in the modern sense of the word, to be found upon the whole of the East Coast of India.

Opening Ceremony of the Vizagapatam Harbour.

Yet, Nature has not been entirely neglected. She has, as you see, provided two rocky outcrops separated by a narrow channel between the sea without and a low-lying swampy area of considerable extent within. Having done this, she appears to have waited patiently to see if man would have the wit to turn these gifts to account. For upwards of half a century, there have been men, some connected with the Government of Madras and others with the Bengal Nagpur Railway, who did, in fact, realize the potentialities of the site ; who saw the vision of a great port growing up to supply the needs of a developing hinterland. At first, their proposals only visualised a second Madras with a harbour towards the sea ; a great improvement no doubt on the primitive facilities then existing, but of necessity circumscribed and limited as regards future expansion. These ideas gradually gave way to a much wider conception which embraced a full utilization of the topographical features of the coast-line and the tidal swampy area nearby. To the Bengal-Nagpur Railway must be given the credit of actively exploring the possibilities of a project on these lines. The Administration had, in fact, such faith in the financial justification of their scheme that the work was eventually put in hand under their direction, although it was subsequently taken over by the Central Government. The Railway Administration were not, moreover, unmindful of the arrangements which would be necessary to give access to a port of the proposed size, and the construction of the Raipur-Vizianagram link shows that the provisions of land communications has not been allowed to lag behind the new facilities now brought into being at the sea-board.

In the execution of these works, the ends we have in view have always been kept in mind. Firstly, the deve-

Opening Ceremony of the Vizagapatam Harbour.

lopment of the resources in a rich but in some ways backward hinterland, and secondly, the provision of an additional major port to supply the growing needs of India's industry as a whole. When we review the history of the inception and growth of many great harbours, we cannot fail to note how often the choice of site has been conditioned not so much by its suitability as regards geographical position or topographical features to meet the requirements of a country's trade, as by the accidents of history or considerations of a political or strategic nature. In fact, these latter have often been the dominant influences, while the needs of industry and commerce have been relegated to the background. Such is not the case with Vizagapatam. Here the only considerations which have weighed with us are those connected with the purpose for which the port has been constructed and it is, therefore, in a position to fulfil its functions with peculiar fitness.

Mr. Ash has given us a most interesting description of the labours and achievements of those who have been connected with this project during the last seven years. Yet I doubt not that it is—to him at any rate—an inadequate picture of the difficulties, disappointments and delays which have beset their path, and the faith, toil and vigilance without which he and his assistants would never have been able to carry their work to its successful conclusion. Few enterprises of merit or importance have been achieved without encountering the former or exercising the latter; and although modesty will have prevented Mr. Ash from dwelling on these aspects of the subject, I assure him that they have not been lost sight of. He and his engineers have, moreover, the satisfaction, which no words of mine can much enhance, of seeing before their eyes the completed works of their hands, the result of a great creative effort; and

Opening Ceremony of the Vizagapatam Harbour.

there are few greater rewards than that. I am sure you would wish me to extend to him in full measure my warmest congratulations and to all those who have helped him in carrying out so successfully this great enterprise.

A work of these dimensions often brings into high relief, the prodigality with which Nature provides resources for our advancement, together with the fickleness she displays in thwarting our efforts when we attempt to utilize them. We have been given an example of her waywardness, in which her superior power has been pitted against the ingenuity of the engineer, in his endeavours to keep open a navigable channel throughout the year. Mr. Ash, as the human protagonist in this drama, is rightly cautious in not under-estimating the power of his adversary, but although the struggle will perhaps continue, if in fact, it does not become perennial, I see no reason to doubt the capacity of those who remain in charge of the work to continue the fight on equal terms, now that the way has been made clear.

At the present time when we are passing through one of the worst industrial depressions which the modern world has ever experienced, it may be thought inopportune to congratulate ourselves on the provision of facilities of which we are not at the moment in a position to make full use. I suggest that this attitude is a mistaken one. Projects of this magnitude are not realized in a day—this one has taken half a century to mature. If we have faith—as I have—in the ultimate utility of an undertaking of this size, it is surely better to be prepared with our harbour rather than to allow its belated provision to retard, if not to strangle, the development of that trade it is intended to foster. There are indications that the force of the present economic blizzard is partially spent, although it may be some time before we reach smooth water or experience the returning tide of

Opening Ceremony of the Vizagapatam Harbour.

a trade revival. I should not be surprised, however, if we ultimately find that this work has been completed at a psychological moment, when the much-needed stimulus to traffic within the area to which its influence extends, proves a powerful factor in the rate of recovery.

There is one more aspect of this achievement on which, I think, we may fittingly close. I have spoken of the growth which I feel confident will take place in India's trade when we have passed through the lean years that we are now experiencing. But we may look beyond the immediate future to a time when the industrial development of this country, now in its infancy, has achieved a full measure of expansion. If civilization means anything, it means power to organize, to look ahead, to plan on a comprehensive scale. There are some who contend that the advance in our command over the forces of Nature and of technical processes has been so rapid during the last century that it has outstripped our capacity to design for the future. I think projects like this harbour of Vizagapatam give the lie to these pessimists. Our requirements here, both now and in the years immediately ahead, are fully provided for, but we have by no means exhausted the possibilities of the site, which would appear to permit of further extension to meet all possible demands for accommodation in time to come. The foundations of a great port with its entourage of commercial activities have been well and truly laid. Yet it is not on these beginnings, or the expansion of the next few decades, that I would dwell. Let us rather look to a time when other generations will be able to reap the full benefit of such vision and forethought as we have been able to exercise. We here present shall not see those days, but we may derive satisfaction from the thought that those who come after us may look back upon what will seem to them insignificant origins, with

Address from the Vizagapatam Municipal Council.

the realization that we builded not for the needs of the day but for the requirements of the great industrial nation of the future.

ADDRESS FROM THE VIZAGAPATAM MUNICIPAL
COUNCIL.

The Vizagapatam Municipal Council presented an Address of Welcome to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 19th December 19th December 1933.
to which he replied in the following terms :—

Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you, Sir, and to the Members of the Vizagapatam Municipal Council for the cordial terms with which you have welcomed me to your Municipality upon the occasion of the first visit which I have paid to you since assuming my responsible duties as Viceroy of India. I need hardly say that I share your regret that circumstances have not allowed of Her Excellency accompanying me here today.

As you said in your address, it is eleven years since I last had the pleasure of coming to Vizagapatam, and I see many changes and important developments which have taken place during that time. I know, from practical experience, some of the many difficulties which have had to be overcome in the opening up of this great harbour, but it is a matter for congratulation that those difficulties have all been surmounted, some of the credit for which is due, I feel sure, to that spirit of helpful co-operation, which, you tell me, has all along prevailed between the Municipal Council and the Harbour Authorities. I trust that that spirit will continue in the future to the mutual benefit and advantage of all concerned.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for the warmth of your welcome. I hope and believe that the opening of this magnificent Harbour will bring added prosperity to the citizens of Vizagapatam.

ADDRESS FROM THE VIZAGAPATAM DISTRICT
BOARD.

19th Decem-
ber 1933.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the Vizagapatam District Board on 19th December to which he replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—Let me thank you very warmly, Mr. President, and the Members of the District Board of Vizagapatam for the charming welcome which you have extended to me this afternoon. The pleasure which I feel in opening this fine harbour has been greatly enhanced by the fact that it has given me an opportunity of renewing old acquaintances which I formed here during the years that I was Governor of Madras. It is true that I have had in years past opportunities of knowing the general ideas which were in the mind of those who through their skill and energy have established this harbour in your midst. And now that I see the results today, I am filled with admiration of their work, and while it is true that this period of world economic depression seems an inauspicious movement to start this great scheme, I am full of hope and confidence that ere long conditions will improve, and that as a result of it we shall find increasing prosperity and development will come in full measure to the people of Vizagapatam and Waltair.

That development will sensibly increase the responsibilities of the Members of your District Board, but I am sure you will prove yourselves fully competent to undertake these additional labours.

I wish very much that Her Excellency had found it possible to be present here today ; if she had been she would have joined me in heartily wishing you and the District you administer all possible progress and prosperity in the future.

OPENING OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSO-
CIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on the 8th January :—

8th January
1934.

Gentlemen,—I must first express my great satisfaction at meeting today this important gathering of the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce from every part of this country, and at the same time express my regret that owing to the fact that since taking up my duties as Viceroy I have not been in Calcutta when your annual meetings have been held, I have found it impossible to meet you in the past two years. I trust that my presence here today may synchronize with a disappearance of the cloud of depression which has hung over us too long and that the coming year may prove to us all one of hope and encouragement in the pursuit of all our various activities.

There are, I understand, many important items for discussion on your agenda paper and I would like to assure you that the results of your deliberations will receive the careful consideration of myself and my Government, and in the meantime I propose to give you this morning a general description of the work and the outlook of Government in regard to matters connected with trade in India.

This is an age when the foundations of society are being questioned, and we are not free in India from those who wish, by invoking violence, to overturn the whole social structure. It would be superfluous for me to argue the case against communism before an audience such as this ; you are all well aware of what it has produced elsewhere. But I would like to draw your attention to this question because I feel that there is a danger of under-estimating the appeal which the crudest economic

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theories make to the uneducated or the half-educated, and particularly to those who are not getting adequate opportunities under the present system. If a man thinks he has nothing to lose but his chains, it is not difficult to persuade him that any change must be for the better, and if civilisation is to be conserved, it must make life worth living for the people as a whole.

Now there are, as it seems to me, at least two classes to whom the opportunity of a reasonably adequate life is too often denied. The condition of labour in our industrial centres, although it has improved considerably in recent years, still leaves a great deal to be desired. My Government are endeavouring, as you know, to strengthen the foundations of the industrial structure, by carrying out a careful programme of labour legislation, and I believe this has already had important effects on the relations of labour with society as a whole. But the scope of legislation is very limited, and the most pressing needs of the worker, better housing, greater security, improved health and the development of the corporate and civic sense, cannot be provided without local and often individual efforts. I am well aware that employers have done much to ameliorate conditions in many places ; they have often shouldered alone a burden which should have been discharged by local bodies. But if I urge increased attention to what is generally known as welfare and to the improvement of contact between employer and employed, it is because I believe that it will give an ample return both in material prosperity and in the more lasting satisfaction that comes from every attempt to serve our fellowmen.

The other class which deserves your special attention is the educated middle class. Hundreds, nay thousands, of young men, find themselves today without adequate

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• opportunity for occupation and it is little to be wondered at that some of them afford a fruitful soil for those whose culture takes the form of direct action of a revolutionary character. It is easy to argue that the malady can only be cured by remedies so sweeping and drastic as to be quite beyond our power, by alterations going deep into social and even religious systems. But I suggest to you as employers, and particularly to those of you who are British, that it is of the utmost importance to provide what opportunities you can for the employment of young Indians. I am one of those who believe that India will need and will welcome for very many years to come the business experience and business gifts of Englishmen, which have done so much to develop industry in the past. But that experience and those gifts will be fully effective only in co-operation with Indian enterprise and talent, and the aim should be to increase and strengthen the bonds of partnership in every way possible. I urge this on your earnest consideration in the interests of all concerned, and not least in your own.

The past year has witnessed certain very important developments connected with road and rail communications. Following upon the publication early in the year of the report of the special enquiry which my Government had instituted into the whole position, a Conference was convened in Simla in April at which were represented the Government of India, local Governments and various interests concerned. After three days' discussion, the Conference was fortunate in being able to arrive at certain recommendations embodied in eight Resolutions, which were subsequently discussed round the table by my Government and the representatives of local Governments. The recommendations of the Conference have since been the subject of correspondence with local Governments

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which is still proceeding. I think I may say that we have grasped the nature of the difficulties of the problems with which we are faced, and we hope to discover methods for their solution. It is not, of course, to be expected that these difficult problems, which have been exercising almost every civilised country in the world, will be immediately and finally solved ; or even that the problems themselves will not present different aspects as time goes on. But whatever the eventual outcome, the Conference has already clearly shown the need for the closest contact and co-operation between the Central and Provincial Governments in administering the whole transport system of the country. If, as I suggested when opening the Conference, that fact is recognised and acted upon, I believe that we shall be able to evolve a common policy and a co-operative course of action.

In a year in which financial stringency has hampered progress in almost every direction, the progress of civil aviation in this country has been one of the few bright spots in a somewhat gloomy picture. Until the end of June 1933, there were only two air mail services in India—one between Karachi and Madras operated by Messrs. Tata Sons, Limited, and the other between Karachi and Delhi run by the Delhi Flying Club, both of which services have been worked with an efficiency to which I am glad to have this opportunity of paying a well-merited tribute. When, however, the latter service ceased in July last, Indian Trans-Continental Airways, in conjunction with Imperial Airways, inaugurated a weekly service between Karachi and Calcutta. This service has since been extended to Rangoon and Singapore, and from December 1st, Indian National Airways has duplicated the service on the important and difficult part of the route between Calcutta and Rangoon. Indian

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National Airways has also started a daily service between Calcutta and Dacca. This service, the first daily air service in India, has, I understand, made a very promising beginning and its progress will, I am sure, be watched with keen interest in this city. Proposals are also under consideration for the extension of Messrs. Tata's Karachi-Madras Air Mail Service to Ceylon, and for the operation of an air mail service between Calcutta and Madras by the Madras Air Taxi Service, a firm which has recently come into being.

India has been described, very frequently but very truly, as a country of vast distances. It is in such a country that the development of speedy communications is of special value, in linking up its various parts, in breaking down particularism and, by so doing, in promoting political and economic development. You may rest assured that my Government realise to the full the potentialities of civil aviation and will do their best to exploit them as opportunity offers and when financial conditions improve.

It is just over a year since the Legislature gave effect to the agreement concluded at Ottawa between the representatives of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. It is not yet possible properly to evaluate the benefits that have accrued to the one party or to the other through the grant of mutual preferences. Many economic forces are at work and it is difficult to estimate the precise effect of any particular factor on variations in trade. This matter, however, will be the subject of special investigation and in due course a report on the effect of the preferences on the trade between India and the United Kingdom and the Colonies will be placed before the Legislature. For the time being I content myself

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with drawing attention to the significance of the agreement itself, marking as it does a new departure in India's tariff policy.

If the Ottawa Agreement was evidence of a new and closer trade relationship between India and the United Kingdom brought about by negotiation between the two Governments concerned, we have lately witnessed an example of negotiation of another kind. I refer to the discussions between the cotton textile industrialists of India and Lancashire. It is inappropriate that I should comment at this juncture upon the merits of the agreement which has been reached—that agreement will in due course receive the full consideration of my Government—but I may be permitted to express the hope that the visit of the Lancashire Delegation has ushered in a new era in the commercial relationships of India and the United Kingdom. Such personal contacts must inevitably lead to a greater degree of mutual understanding and good-will between the two countries which can only be fruitful of results beneficial to both. To those who were responsible for opening this new avenue of approach to the solution of controversial trade problems I offer my congratulations. They have shown a breadth of vision, a courage and a spirit of mutual understanding which are specially valuable in these troublous times.

As you are aware, an agreement has now been reached on the main points which have been the subject of discussion between the representatives of the Government of India and Japan who are engaged in negotiations of a new trade agreement between the two countries and immediate effect has been given to some of the most important of these in advance of formal conclusion and signature of a treaty. I venture to express the hope that the final agreement will generally be regarded as a

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settlement fair and equitable to all parties and interests concerned. In a year that has been remarkable in more ways than one in the commercial history of India no event has greater significance than the negotiation by India's own representatives and in India of an agreement governing her relations with an important Foreign Power. As head of the Government of India I should like to take this opportunity of paying my tribute of gratitude and appreciation to Sir Joseph Bhore and his two colleagues, Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Frank Noyce, for the successful manner in which they have conducted these negotiations and for the most satisfactory results that have been obtained.

So far I have been concerned with matters of external policy. I would now refer briefly to a few matters of more purely domestic interest which have a bearing on the commerce of India.

You will remember that as a result of the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee the collection and publication of Statistics of Rail and River-borne Trade were abandoned. Experience has shown that a serious lacuna in our knowledge of internal trade movements was thereby created and some two years ago it was decided to remedy the defect. Financial stringency forbade immediate action, but from the beginning of the present financial year the collection of statistics of internal trade movements has been revived and publication will shortly be commenced. It has also been recognised that if any programme of planned economic advance for India is to be undertaken it is necessary to have in existence a trained organisation for the analysis and interpretation of economic facts and phenomena. A step has been taken towards the creation of such an

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organisation by the constitution at the headquarters of Government of a branch of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. This Statistical Research Bureau under the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics has been in operation since July last. Besides collating and analysing material for the use of the Indian Delegation in their negotiations with Japan it has carried out the preliminary work in connection with the examination of the effects of the Ottawa Trade Agreement and it has now under preparation the material for a monthly survey of business conditions in India.

In order further to improve the statistical material on economic matters we have just invited to India two distinguished economic and statistical experts, Professor Bowley of London University and Mr. D. H. Robertson, University Lecturer on Economics at Cambridge. Three Indian economists will be associated with them in their work. Their visit this winter is of a preliminary nature and may pave the way to further enquiries and possibly to the undertaking of a comprehensive census of production on the lines which have been carried out in England and the United States. It is our intention that this further work, if undertaken, will be entrusted mainly to Indian economists and local organisations. Apart from this possibility for the future an important immediate task is to consider not so much the establishment of new machinery and the collection of fresh material as the devising of better methods for putting together for the use of ourselves, of local Governments and of the public, the material which is already collected. Careful and scientific study may not always lead to the spectacular results which are often clamoured for by those who are dissatisfied with present conditions and

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think that it is in the power of Governments to remedy them. But they are very necessary, and are becoming increasingly so as the international economic system of the world is becoming more and more affected by the deliberately planned national economic policies of all countries.

From the 1st of April 1932 there was constituted by an amendment of the Indian Companies Act, a body entitled the Indian Accountancy Board. The functions of this body which consists of persons representing the accountancy profession or having special knowledge of accountancy in India, is to advise the Governor-General on all matters of administration relating to accountancy and to assist him in maintaining the standards of qualification and conduct of persons enrolled on the Register of Accountants. The Board has just held its second annual meeting and it may be said that the new scheme for the regulation of the Accountancy profession in India is now well under way. Though control is at present vested in the Governor-General in Council, it is not too much to hope that within no long period of time it will be possible to transfer to the profession itself the task of regulating and maintaining its own standards of professional training, qualification and conduct and that the Indian Accountancy Board will take its place on an equality with the older societies and institutions which have, in the past, raised the Accountancy profession to so eminent a position.

My predecessor Lord Irwin in his opening address to your Association in December 1928 referred to the establishment of the training ship "Dufferin" in Bombay, which has for its object the provision of facilities for the training of Indian boys as officers in

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the Mercantile Marine. This year the first batch of cadets having completed their sea service presented themselves for their Second Mate's certificates and I am glad to be able to say that seventeen ex-cadets of the "Dufferin" have succeeded in obtaining that qualification and that all of them have been provided with employment and have now embarked on their careers. Ten of these cadets are serving as junior officers with various shipping companies while the remaining seven have joined the Bengal Pilot Service as Leadsman apprentices. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance given by the shipping companies towards making the scheme of the training ship a success.

As you are no doubt aware, I had the privilege of performing the formal opening ceremony, on the 19th December last, of the Vizagapatam Harbour. The project for the provision of a fully equipped harbour at Vizagapatam was undertaken some years ago, and as the result of the work of construction which has gone on uninterruptedly since then, the new harbour was informally opened to traffic on the 7th October 1933. From this date it was found possible, as a beginning, to admit into the harbour vessels of a draught not exceeding 26 feet. It is, however, hoped that in the not very distant future it will be possible to admit vessels of much larger dimensions into the port. The opening of this harbour will not only supply a long-felt need for a safe anchorage for ocean-going traffic on the east coast of India between Calcutta and Madras, but will also assist greatly in the development of a hinterland rich in natural resources by providing for its produce a convenient outlet to the markets of the world.

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And now for a few moments, I wish to turn your attention to financial matters.

During the past year the world economic crisis has continued to dominate the situation and until it abates it is impossible for India—a country whose prosperity depends so largely on the world's demand for its agricultural produce—to make any substantial advance towards prosperity. India was strongly represented at the World Economic Conference in June and July, but, as you all know, that Conference failed in its primary object which was to co-ordinate international action in promoting a recovery in commodity prices. Looking back we can see that failure to achieve that particular object was inevitable. The new President of the United States of America was beginning one of the widest and boldest attempts at economic reconstruction through monetary action which the world has ever seen, and was not in a position to tie his hands by any international agreement, while his abstention made a general agreement impossible. There were also substantial differences of policy between the group of countries linked with sterling and those that still adhere to the gold standard. At the same time the Conference had a valuable indirect result. It brought the world more closely face to face with realities. There are few now who think that the whole trouble is monetary or that it can be cured by monetary manipulation alone. If the experiment in America is proving anything, it is that the trouble is due to innumerable causes which must be examined and dealt with separately, and that the mass of human transactions and interactions which go to make up the web of economic activity are extremely hard to guide or drive into artificially created prosperity. The sane and businesslike attitude of the British Government and the Bank of England has provided a shelter to those

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nations which are within the sterling group and has enhanced immeasurably the prestige of sterling as a rock of stability in an unstable world. It is difficult to contemplate what might have happened to the world if the stability of London as an international banking centre had broken down, or if the example of British adherence to sound methods had not remained as a guide and foundation for confidence. There are signs very definitely in London and even here in India that this policy is meeting its reward. All the reports from London indicate a stronger and more widespread feeling of confidence in the future this Christmas than there has been for many years past, and I have no doubt that this will spread to all parts of the Empire. It is not a policy which will produce dramatic results. It means hard work and facing the situation with courage, but these are the qualities which have led to success in the past and will do so again.

I said "even in India." As England is the nerve centre of the sterling-using nations, it was the first to feel the depression, and so it is the first to experience the recovery, but even in India there are already some signs of improvement. Our balance of trade is definitely better, that is to say that imports and exports are coming back to their old relationship, though both are sadly smaller in quantity owing not only to the fall in the prices of our export staples but the decrease in the world demand for them. Our budgetary position still needs great care, but we have always preserved such high standards in financial policy that we have more of a margin than most countries to draw upon. It is wonderful, looking back, that we have been able to stand up to the strain as we have. When trade improves, our revenue position must also necessarily improve, and even

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now there are definite signs of improvement in our great commercial departments—the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs.

But if I speak generally in an optimistic tone that does not mean that I and my Government do not recognise that the prolonged period of depression has put a strain not only on public finance, but on the position of all those who work for their living in India. Their position, and especially that of those who are engaged in agriculture on which all our trade and industry depend, must deserve our careful consideration.

The year which has just closed has been marked by one event of great importance in the financial field—I refer to the passage in the Legislative Assembly of the Reserve Bank legislation. The setting up of an Indian Reserve Bank and the transfer by Government to it of the control of currency will be a step of extreme significance. I doubt if many realise how great a change it implies in the direction of self-government in India. It is a change which we should perhaps not normally have contemplated in a time of such instability as the present, if it had not been a prelude to the constitutional changes. For this reason in making it we need the support and co-operation of all sections of the political and business community of India. I am glad to be able to record that till now we have received that co-operation. The members of the Indian Legislature and the representatives of the banking interests have worked hard and with a full sense of the public interests. The co-operation between Indians and British residents in India and the subordination of racial jealousies has been a marked and welcome feature throughout the whole of the discussions. And here I would like particularly to thank the Chambers which

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you represent for your constructive and helpful criticism and co-operation in framing our plan, without which it would not have been possible to have placed so well-balanced a measure on the statute book in such a short time. This co-operation of the European Chambers is also a happy augury for the future and I hope that it will be continued to ensure the popularity and stability of the new institution.

Before I conclude I would like to say a few words on the future outlook in its bearing on the interests your Association represents. I have made it a point during my Viceroyalty to keep in close touch with the currents of opinion in the European business community on the constitutional changes now under discussion by the Joint Select Committee. It has given me the greatest satisfaction to find that your leaders, while insistent upon due recognition of your own interests, have identified themselves with the legitimate political aspirations of their Indian fellow-subjects. Gentlemen, it is my confident opinion that a great and brilliant future lies before this country. India is not at the cross-roads, doubtful and hesitant. She has chosen her path, that of progress ; and on it her feet are firmly set. I congratulate you on the wisdom and statesmanship of your attitude in times of rapidly changing conditions.

Your Association has a direct and special interest in two particular aspects of the White Paper proposals, namely the representation of European commerce in the new legislatures and the provisions on the subject of commercial discrimination.

You are all aware of the commercial representation in the legislatures suggested in the Appendices of the White Paper. In the proposals designed to secure the

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special representation of commerce and industry in the provincial legislatures the estimated distribution of commerce seats between Indian and European interests is described ; but the composition of the bodies through which election to those seats will be conducted, though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian, will not be fixed by statute. It is therefore noted that it will not be possible in each province to state with certainty how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned.

In the Federal Legislature His Majesty's Government have proposed an important change. At present European commerce as such is represented only in the Council of State. The Indian commercial interests of Madras and Bombay have two seats in the Assembly, but the elected European members of the Assembly are in all cases returned not by special commercial constituencies, but by constituencies formed of members of the European community. The need for the special representation in the Lower House of European commerce has already made itself felt. It has therefore been our practice for some years past to give one of the nominated seats in the Assembly to a member of your Association. Having regard to this consideration His Majesty's Government have proposed that Indian and European commerce should both be given direct representation in the Federal Assembly. Of the three seats set aside for that purpose, one has been allotted to your Association. The scheme now awaits the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. Without in any way prejudging the view which that Committee may take, I draw the attention of your Association to the proposal which will give it the right to return its own elected member to the Federal Legislature, in order to remind

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you that your claim to direct representation has not passed unheeded.

The appropriate constitutional provision on the subject of commercial discrimination has proved a thorny and difficult problem. But as its discussion has proceeded, I have discerned both in the evidence given before the Select Committee and in recent mention of that subject in the Assembly a growing tendency apparent on all sides to meet the problem in a generous spirit of accommodation in which a most encouraging feature has been the genuine good-will shown and expressed ; a recognition on the British side of Indian sentiment and a quick response on the Indian side to the interests of British commerce in the new conditions of the future constitution. I was struck by the happy phrase used by one of the witnesses of your Association before the Select Committee when he expressed the hope that the safeguards would be like a good contract made, put in the safe, and never referred to again since reference is never necessary. All who have the interests of India at heart will share that hope, and all can make their contribution to secure its fulfilment. So much depends on the spirit in which the system is worked. While the new constitution is being discussed, attention is fixed on the provisions it will contain ; but it is the daily contacts of business life that will give their character to your future relations with Indian commerce and its leaders.

Finally, I should like to strike a note of a rather more personal character. I remember very well that on the eve of my departure from London to India I was the guest of the Pilgrims' Club and in a speech that I made at that dinner I remarked that I was going out to India full of hope and confidence to undertake my difficult

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task and that I felt that I should receive in full measure the support in my work of all right-thinking and law-abiding citizens in this country. After over 2½ years' experience here during which we have all passed through a period of stress and strain in our varied occupations and interests, I am full of hope and confidence still, and my gratitude goes out in full measure to every loyal citizen in this country from the highest to the lowest for their steadiness and staunchness, and their loyal support of the Government and its officers during these most difficult and trying years. And in wishing you all everything of the best during the coming year, my confident hope is that, if we go forward with a determination to co-operate together, peace, good-will and prosperity will soon come to all those who are unitedly working for the welfare of India and her people.

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION DINNER, CALCUTTA.

The following is an extract from His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the European Association Dinner at Calcutta on the 8th January 1934 :—

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This is a feature of the situation in Bengal which is fortunately without parallel elsewhere in India. This movement which endeavours to achieve certain revolutionary aims by the assassination of Government servants is one against which the full resources and powers of Government will continue to be unhesitatingly employed. This is the least that Government—any Government—owes both to itself and to those devoted officers of the services who are at once the target of attack and the instrument by which the community is protected against these attempts to establish a revolutionary tyranny. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has in a recent speech dealt at length with the present situation and the inten-

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tions of Government, and I would merely wish to endorse all that he has said. The Government of India and the Government of Bengal are in the closest touch in this matter and are in full agreement in their estimate of the situation and as to the policy to be pursued.

On the more general aspect I would only add this. The measures which the existence of this menace entails and which will certainly be continued without intermission until that menace is finally removed involve a Province, which is unfortunately not one of the most prosperous, in large expenditure, and divert much of the effort of the administration from its ordinary beneficent activities. This is the price the Province is paying and must continue to pay for the continuance of this movement, and I ask myself how long it will be before public opinion among the classes from which the terrorist ranks are recruited will realise these elementary facts, and understand that the terrorists are the greatest enemies of their own country.

But there is another aspect of this Terrorist movement which I think it is important to bear in mind. The movement is no doubt in its purpose political and revolutionary and has existed in this Presidency for many years. But I think that its opportunities for evil have been much increased of late owing to the economic depression which has recently overwhelmed the world and from which this country could not expect to escape.

It is a fact that at the present time we have too many young men and women passing out from our Universities with B.A. at the end of their names, and too few positions for them to look forward to when they want to start on their career of public service. The result is that lack of occupation produces in their minds feelings of disgust, despair and resentment with the result that they fall an easy prey to the leaders of this movement who

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lurk in the background and use them at the most susceptible time of their lives to carry out their nefarious designs.

I was delighted to learn when I read Your Excellency's speech to which I have already referred that you have completely appreciated the situation and have already set up a committee of enquiry into the economic condition of the Province in order to take the necessary steps to deal with what is one of the present causes of our difficulties.

I am glad to know too that the Governors of other Provinces are actively engaged in considering this important question, and I can claim that I and my Government have not been backward in this matter for as you all are aware we have invited two eminent economists from England—Professor Bowley and Mr. Robertson, who are already in this country, and who will collaborate with leading Indian Economists in order to produce an economic survey which should much assist us all in our efforts to get to the root of this important problem, and take the necessary action.

For there can be no doubt that one of our chief administrative purposes must be, besides insisting on law and order and pushing on with constitutional Reforms, to develop the economic future of India in order to secure greater purchasing power for our people and give wider opportunities of public service to the youth of India at the start of their career.

BANQUET AT BENARES.

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares gave a Banquet in 16th January
honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In reply to the 1934.
toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Both I and Lady Willingdon shared Your Highness' disappointment

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a year ago when we were reluctantly compelled at short notice to postpone our visit to Benares. I am, therefore, the more delighted now to find myself beneath your hospitable roof and to have preserved unbroken the chain of Viceregal visits to Benares. Let me assure you that the warmth of Your Highness' welcome, the historical associations of this sacred city and the wonderful sweep of the holy river where your ghâts and temples face the dawn as they have done since the beginning of history, will remain with us both as ineffaceable memories of our stay in Kashi.

You have alluded in flattering terms to my long association with the Indian administration and especially to the part I have been called upon to play during the last three years while His Majesty's Government has been engaged in determining the final form to be taken by the new Federal and Provincial Governments in this country. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that after the stormy occurrences of 1932 the general political outlook has so greatly improved. With increased tranquillity in India and steady progress being made in the work of constitution-building in London we may now look forward with confidence to the end of the prolonged labours of the last five years. I earnestly hope that no untoward incident may occur to obstruct or delay the consummation of our hopes. I trust that this unique experiment in constitutional reform may be crowned with success. I recognise with gratitude the notable assistance which has been afforded to us in our efforts by the Indian Princes. Your Highness, the members of your Order have frequently demonstrated both their loyalty and devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and their readiness to adapt their own administrations to the needs of the modern world. I have every confidence that their adherence to the Federation will be a

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source both of strength to the Central Government and of real advantage to the States themselves.

I am grateful to Your Highness for the kind references you have made to my wife and to the part which she has played in assisting me in my public and social duties. No one knows better than I how well-merited your words are. The welfare and progress of India are as near and dear to her heart as they are to my own.

You have alluded to the close and loyal connection between your ancestors and the British Government ever since the days of the Hon'ble East India Company. In the dark days of 1857 your grandfather, Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ishwari Prasad Narain Singh, G.C.S.I., rendered signal service to the Government. His successor in turn maintained the tradition of unswerving loyalty to the Crown and in 1911 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge was invested with ruling powers. Until his lamented death in August 1931, your revered and illustrious father carried out his duties as a ruler with a fidelity worthy of his ancestors and unselfish devotion to the good of his subjects. The standard which he set was a very high one, but I feel confident that Your Highness will maintain it. I was not surprised to hear a reference in Your Highness' speech to the financial difficulties which your State, in common with all other parts of the world, is now suffering from. India in particular, being a country whose main products are primary commodities, has suffered severely from the recent catastrophic fall in prices, and Your Highness' State in common with the rest of India has been adversely affected by the general fall in revenue and the remissions which Your Highness has rightly and generously granted to your subjects. Economy and retrenchment are not attractive financial operations, but they are on occasions

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unavoidable. I feel confident that Your Highness will face this unpleasant and unpopular task with courage and resolution, recognising that a balanced budget is the firmest foundation of true prosperity. It has given me keen pleasure to learn of the active interest which Your Highness is taking in the welfare of your subjects, particularly the humble but all-important agriculturist with whose happiness and prosperity is indissolubly linked the happiness and prosperity of your whole State.

I was delighted to hear the appreciative references made by Your Highness to the interest and sympathy shown in the administration of your State by the local officers of my Government. In Sir Malcolm Hailey, whom we were all glad recently to welcome back to India to resume his official duties after a most important mission to London, you have a friend and adviser of wide experience and proved ability, who will, I know, always be ready to extend to your State any assistance of which you may be in need. I am sure that your Political Agent also will ever deem it no less a pleasure than a duty to give you his counsel and support.

As Your Highness has said, the loyalty of your House stands in no need either of emphasis or of advertisement. It is traditional. I am entirely confident that Your Highness will maintain this fine tradition and that His Imperial Majesty will always be able to reckon upon the resources and support of Benares State whether in times of prosperity or adversity.

Once again I thank Your Highness for your most hospitable welcome and your friendly wishes, and I trust that Almighty Providence will long preserve you to continue the administration of a prosperous and contented State.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE DISTRICT BOARD,
BENARES.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from the District Board, Benares, on the 17th January 1934 and replied in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—Lady Willingdon and I greatly appreciate the cordial terms of your welcome to us on the occasion of our visit to Benares, the first that I have been able to pay you during many years of life in India, though my wife has had the privilege of visiting you on two previous occasions. We join you in agreeing that the ancient city of Kashi occupies indeed a unique position in the world as the birth-place of great religions and doctrines and the home for long years past of renowned saints and sages.

A great centre of pilgrimage is bound to have problems peculiar to itself, and I note that you have referred in particular to the question of receiving a share of the income which the municipal board derives from the pilgrim tax. This is obviously a matter for decision by the provincial authorities, but I would nevertheless ask you to remember that a tax of this nature can by law only be levied by a municipal board, and it is a well recognized rule that municipal income must be spent within municipal limits.

In these days when administrations all over the world are finding considerable difficulty in balancing their budgets, it is pleasant to hear that your normal expenditure is within your income. Though the clouds are perhaps lifting a little, the world in general is still in the clutches of economic depression. and I would advise you to do all within your power strictly to regulate your expenditure and to see that there is no wastage.

I note with satisfaction that you are taking a live interest in the spread of education, on which you spend

Address of Welcome from the District Board, Benares.

an annual Government grant of two and three-quarter lakhs, supplemented by over half a lakh from your own funds. While I give way to none in my desire to promote the growth of learning, I have noticed that the cause of education sometimes flourishes at the expense of other equally deserving objects. The old Latin adage "*mens sana in corpore sano*" holds good for all time, and you would be well advised to do all that is possible towards the promotion of health in the rural areas by means of uplift in general and by the grant of sufficient monetary aid to institutions that afford medical relief.

You refer also to the length of your communications, in which connexion I would remind you that these are perhaps the most vital of all the needs of a rural area ; I trust that here you will soon find it possible to restore the reduction which financial stringency has apparently compelled you to make in your annual allotments for the upkeep of roads. Lack of communications and roads which are not looked after as they should be are a serious hindrance to the development of trade, and I am sure you will agree that by not spending a sufficient amount of money on this most desirable object you are not only seriously inconveniencing the inhabitants of the rural area but are also rendering yourself open to the charge of being directly responsible for discouraging trade.

Administration all the world over is a difficult task, and while I am certain that you are fully alive to your responsibilities a few words of advice from me will perhaps not be amiss. Remember that you have been chosen to guard the interests of a large body of persons, the majority of whom are simple peasants. If you wish to serve them faithfully and well it is essential that party feelings and personal predilections be ruthlessly thrown aside. Work together for the good of the masses, when

Appeal for Funds to start the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund.

destinies for the time being have been placed in your hands, and I am positive that your labours will be more than rewarded by their gratitude.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your friendly welcome to Her Excellency and myself. We wish you every success in the discharge of your onerous duties and pray that your efforts may bring prosperity and happiness to all the inhabitants of this district.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS TO START THE VICEROY'S
EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND.

His Excellency the Viceroy issued the following appeal 20th January 1934.
on 20th January 1934 :—

A very serious calamity has recently overtaken a large number of our fellow-countrymen especially in the Province of Bihar and Orissa as a result of a severe earthquake which was experienced last Monday afternoon. In a moment of time, whilst no accurate details are as yet forthcoming, it is no exaggeration to say that there has been an appalling loss of life ; countless homes have been destroyed and over a wide area, property and possessions have been annihilated and have ceased to exist. At such a time I feel confident that the sympathy of all classes of the people in this country goes out to those who have been involved in this great disaster and that efforts to alleviate their sufferings will meet with a ready response. I have therefore decided to set up a fund which will be known as the Viceroy's Earthquake Fund. Subscriptions should be sent direct to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Viceroy's House, New Delhi, and will be acknowledged individually.

*Appeal for Funds to start the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund.***A FURTHER APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR THE VICEROY'S EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND, 1934.**

(BROADCASTED ON JANUARY 29TH, 1934.)

I very gladly take this opportunity to say a few words to you on the subject of the recent terrible earthquake disaster. In spite of the accounts appearing in the Press, I am not sure whether even yet the full extent of the suffering and loss which are entailed have been sufficiently realised. It is difficult for us outside the stricken area to grasp fully what has occurred, since the mind is apt to react somewhat slowly to matters outside its own experience, and fortunately visitations of this description are rare. Let me try in a few simple words to give you a picture of the position in North Bihar where the shock of the earthquake was most severe. Four towns, each the headquarters of a district, have been laid in ruins. A recent visitor to Muzaffarpur has described its appearance as similar to that of a town on the Western Front in the War knocked to pieces by countless shot and shell until scarcely a habitation has remained. But here the disaster struck without warning when people were pursuing their daily avocations in the midst of peace. The loss of life in Bihar is estimated at not less than 4,000 and the loss of property has been on an appalling scale. But we shall not appreciate the dimensions of the disaster if we think merely in terms of these shattered towns and their inhabitants left homeless and destitute till succour is given ; or of bridges broken and roads destroyed ; of railways twisted from their course ; or of fields wasted by the strange phenomena of water bursting from the ground and the surface broken by deep subsidences. The spectacle of these is terrible enough, but they are not

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themselves the full measure of the disaster. In recent years North Bihar has established itself as one of the chief sugar-growing areas of India. Dotted over the countryside are a number of sugar factories each drawing its supply of cane from the local cultivators. But the factories lie in ruins, communications are in chaos and a blow has been struck at an industry involving both the cultivator and the factory in economic ruin. Have I said enough to bring home to you that it is not merely a question of relieving emergent distress. When that has been done the immense task will remain of reorganising and re-establishing the whole economic life of wide tracts of country in North Bihar. But it is of course not only the public that has suffered. The damage sustained by Government in the destruction of Government buildings and public property of all descriptions has been immense. Let me express my admiration for the manner in which the Government of Bihar and Orissa and its officers under the leadership of His Excellency the Governor have set themselves to meet the problems of this staggering blow to the prosperity of the Province.

My heart has been warmed by the generous response that has been made to my appeal for help, and I wish all who have contributed to know how greatly I have appreciated their assistance. The calamity is in truth a national one. Let us treat it in a national spirit. Let us combine and co-operate to do all in our power to help our fellow-citizens who have suffered through this terrible visitation. I shall not have spoken these few words in vain if I have helped you to understand that the problem of providing immediate shelter, food, clothes, etc., is only a small part of the much larger problem of reconstructing the ruined towns and restoring the normal economic life of these districts.

*Unveiling Ceremony of the Statue of His Highness the
Maharaja of Bikaner.*

For this purpose the funds required will be very large, and for that reason I appeal to you for more and still more help to relieve the distress and suffering which this terrible earthquake has caused.

UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE STATUE OF HIS
HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.

24th February
1934.

In unveiling the statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on the 24th February 1934, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Your Highness, Sir Manubhai, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Nothing could possibly give me more pleasure than to join with Your Highness' loyal subjects in the State of Bikaner and to pay my tribute of affection and admiration to their ruler by taking the principal part in this ceremony for which we are all gathered together today and further to unveil this memorial which will always remind future generations of your outstanding services to the people of your State.

But it seems to me that this statue I shall shortly unveil will always call to mind apart from its more local interest the memory of a great ruler who by his untiring public work in many fields has made the name of the house of Bikaner widely known in many lands. His great services to the British Empire through the years of the Great War and as a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, his labours at meetings of the Imperial Conference and League of Nations at Geneva and his devoted work for the great scheme of federation for this country will always be remembered in future years. And if I turn to the more local aspect of this ceremony, I am reminded of an old Latin saying : “ Si monumentum requiris, circumspice ”, which in English reads : “ If you seek a monument, look around ”.

Unveiling Ceremony of the Statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Let us therefore turn away for a moment from this veiled statue and allow our eyes to dwell upon all we see around us of a man's handiwork, and summon to the mind's eye what we know to lie beyond the range of our present vision.

We see a vista of fine buildings and public gardens laid out with a meticulous eye to convenience and artistry. Our minds envisage the sweep of well-kept roads, the outward signs of the widespread electrification of this Capital, many works of domestic, commercial and economic value ; Hospitals, Schools, and administrative blocks, palatial residences and neatly laid-out bungalows. Further afield, the face of the countryside bears witness of the struggle to soften the unrelenting harshness of nature, and far to the north a great canal system speaks of a Ruler's accomplished aim to bring agriculture to desolate and barren tracts : to force from unresponsive Earth some meed of prosperity for a desert people. And as you note this evidence of one man's rule, you will perhaps turn your eyes with me to that Fort which stands before us. The spirit that lives in that Fort must surely know that His Highness Sir Ganga Singh of Bikaner has not betrayed his ancestors, nor the glories of the past ; that that Fort, steeped, in its slumbering beauty, in the great traditions of bygone years, does not lie humbled by the surroundings of a later day : that what went into the building of that Fort was not in vain. Such, Your Highness, is your monument. We are gathered here for the specific purpose of unveiling this statue, of praising the craft of the sculptor, of performing a time-honoured ritual. In a larger sense however we are here to commemorate by a single act in respect of a single monument our profound sense of admiration at all we see around us, the creations of a single man's resolve, and his more lasting monument.

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Sir Manubhai Mehta, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now unveil this statue of Lieutenant-General His Highness Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner.

BANQUET AT BIKANER.

24th February 1934.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner gave a Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State. In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very difficult for me to reply in any satisfactory language to the delightful words of greeting with which you, Sir, have welcomed my wife and myself once again as guests in Your Highness' State, words which warm our hearts by the knowledge that they come from the lips of a Prince who has long been ruler of a State that ranks so high in India and who has been to me both a tried and trusted friend during the many years of our association with this country.

Most gratefully, I thank you, Sir, for the charming and most generous terms in which you have proposed our health for the acceptance of this distinguished gathering. I am very grateful too for the very cordial manner in which the toast has been received. Sir, you have referred to many incidents connected with our past lives in India—to my wife's great service and indefatigable work, to quote your own words—particularly during those four dark years of the Great War, which none of us will ever forget—you have also referred to the fact that it was our good fortune to meet from time to time while we lived in Bombay many of the Princes of India, and to form friendships which have been of the greatest value to me in these last three years in assisting me in my work here as Viceroy. And I shall never forget that it was to the generous help I received from the Princes of India

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that I owe almost entirely the opportunity given me for establishing the Willingdon Sports Club in Bombay which has proved such an amenity to the lives of both Indians and Europeans when living or staying in that city, and that I received the greatest support in the initial stages of that enterprise from Your Highness and from His Highness the late Maharaja of Gwalior whose loyal friendship to me in those days will always remain one of the happiest recollections of my life.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is I believe the custom for the Viceroy when he pays an official visit to any Indian State to arrive fully primed with all the necessary information in regard to the affairs of that State and at the customary banquet to pour forth the floods of his oratory, favourable or unfavourable, as to its general administration. Tonight I propose to break that custom for this very good reason, that His Highness has ruled over his State for the past 35 years and has shown by his every administrative action during the long years of his rule a single-minded purpose to secure peace, justice, and increasing prosperity to all his loyal subjects, and by his wide experience has set an example of public service of which he may well be proud. Though I have no wish to make invidious comparisons, I believe that when the history of this country comes to be written, few Indian Rulers will be found to have worked so hard and so successfully for the development of their States as His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Therefore while it is true that I have recently had before me a résumé which describes the administrative developments of the State during the 35 years Your Highness has been at the helm of affairs which discloses a remarkable record of achievement and speaks of hard work and foresight in many spheres for the welfare and in the interest of the people of Bikaner, I will only refer

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tonight to one most important development, namely, the irrigation of the desert tracts in the north of the State. The tremendous irrigation projects which have benefited the north-western portion of the Bikaner State have come to fruition after, as Your Highness has said, many years of long and anxious negotiations, and they have opened up vistas of rural prosperity in areas which were entirely unfertile before. Your Highness, therefore, may rest assured that the question of further extensions to canal systems affecting the north-eastern areas of Bikaner will be examined in a broad and liberal spirit.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our host the Maharaja of Bikaner is a man who has played a prominent part in guiding the destinies of the good ship, India, through the dangerous channels of the last 20 years. There have been times when she has been driven from her course and has been tossed on the tempestuous seas. We, Your Highness, recognise and appreciate the great part you have played in guiding her course through that stormy passage. When the harbour is reached and we lie in calm waters, the name of Sir Ganga Singh of Bikaner will be remembered. He will be remembered for his unswerving devotion to the Crown and the Empire, and for the high endeavours he has consistently made for a happy issue out of the many problems which India and Britain have had to face. Especially will he be remembered for the part he has played in regard to the future relations of the Indian States to a self-governing India in the Constitution which is to come.

Your Highness has found room in your speech to regret the fact that I have been unable to fit in visits to the Secretariat, and Public Offices and Law Courts, and Medical and Educational Institutions. I must share Your Highness' regret, but if time did permit me to make these visits, I have no doubt whatever as to what I should

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find—I should find a well-ordered and smooth running machine, an organisation inspired by Your Highness' unflagging energy and devotion to detail, the driving power that makes for efficiency.

I have been particularly struck with the taste and good planning with which the many public buildings and residential suburb outside the city have been laid out. I understand that Your Highness has interested yourself personally in the design and lay-out of these buildings, and I must congratulate you in these circumstances upon a most pleasing result. Your Highness has succeeded in meeting the needs of expanding the administrative machine, in satisfying the wants of the public, and in providing an outlet from an ancient but congested city, by the construction of public and residential buildings which architecturally blend so happily with the characteristic beauties of the older buildings which still adorn your city.

Let me, before I conclude, express my sincere thanks to Your Highness for your generous words of appreciation of the appointment of Colonel Ogilvie as Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana. I feel that that officer must be blushing with pride at listening to your recitation of the various qualities with which you have very properly endowed him. I can assure you it is a great satisfaction to me to learn from you that he has gained the confidence and regard of the Princes of Rajputana. May I thank you too for your kind greeting to my Political Secretary, Mr. Glancy. I shan't detain you, Ladies and Gentlemen, by giving you my opinion at any length of his many good qualities, for I have no desire to see blushes rising to the cheeks of two of my political officers tonight. I would only say that from a close association with him in our work, I have every confidence that one purpose that he sets constantly before

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him is to uphold and maintain fairly and justly the integrity and dignity of every State in this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise with me and drink to the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, and to wish him and his family all health and prosperity in the future. We trust that he may be spared long years to reign over a contented people, and continue to exercise his powerful influence in the best interests of the country.

OPENING OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE
INTER-UNIVERSITIES BOARD.

6th March
1934.

In opening the third Conference of the Inter-Universities Board at Delhi on Tuesday, the 6th March 1934, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to welcome to the capital city of India the members of the third Universities Conference. It is an event of no inconsiderable importance that delegates from practically every university in India are assembled here today. Amongst you I see many educationists, and rejoice that some have found it possible to travel long distances to Delhi. This is a testimony of the importance of the task before you. I have every confidence that your deliberations will make a notable contribution towards the right development of universities in this land.

Gentlemen, as a layman I feel a natural diffidence in addressing experts who have made education their life-study, but the relation of education to every activity of the modern State and of society is all-pervasive. A mere administrator, therefore, may also permit himself a few observations to an assembly of educationists.

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Events have been moving with great rapidity in the university world. When I first landed in 1913, there were but five universities in the whole of India. Those universities were all of the affiliating type ; their functions were confined very largely to prescribing courses and curricula and to conducting examinations ; they were scarcely concerned with the function of teaching, nor did they even possess effective means of controlling and co-ordinating the resources and activities of colleges. Thus, whatever progress was made in those days was due very largely to the colleges. There are many present here today, who can testify their great debt to the colleges in which they were educated. I wish to pay my tribute to these institutions for the fine work they have done. They have a yet greater part to play in the rejuvenation of India.

Since 1913 universities have increased rapidly in number. There are now 18 universities in India ; what is even more striking is the wide variation in their form and organisation. The details of this wide variation are perplexing, but the main lines of distinction are apparent. There are, first, the affiliating universities which, though imperfect in form, still play an important part in the development of higher education in this vast country. At the other extreme are the unitary universities. These universities have their rightful place in the scheme of university organisation, but they cannot by themselves cater for the entire needs of an advancing country. Between these two extremes are varying types of federal universities which, while supplementing the teaching of the colleges, exercise a varying measure of control over the teaching and other activities of colleges. The emergence of this type is a logical step in the scheme of instructional evolution in this country, not a fortuitous coincidence. In the political sense Parliament is now engaged in the difficult, though inspiring, task of evolving a federal

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constitution in which considerable scope for the Provinces will be blended with the preservation of unity at the centre. A similar process is being attempted in the sphere of university organisation. There is a growing realisation that the valuable and cherished college traditions, to which I have already referred, should not be lightly thrown aside ; in many cases, they should be developed. The need for rigid economy, which, though intensified by the recent depression, has been increasingly manifest for some time, has given to the federal principal an additional value in the field of education. India needs more education ; she cannot secure it without additional expenditure. Owing to competing demands of equal importance to her progress, she must use her available resources to the maximum of attainable advantage. In every branch of education, this will be possible only if reform, where reform is needed, and expansion, where this has become imperative, conserve everything in the existing system that has been tried and has proved its value. Only a university of federal type can guide and co-ordinate the development of existing colleges so that they shall make their most effective contribution towards the common weal. If only the colleges can be made to realise that this new type of university is intended to supplement, not to supplant their activities, to fulfil and not to destroy the purpose for which colleges exist, they would, I feel confident, be prepared to submit in the larger national interest to the greater measure of control with which a federal university must be invested over its constituents so as to ensure the efficiency both of itself and its colleges.

To my mind, similar premises lead to a similar conclusion, *mutatis mutandis*, as regards the correlation of programmes of expansion of the different universities. The autonomy of a great seat of learning should be

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respected and preserved, but unrestricted autonomy and competition may create untoward results. There is a tendency for each university to attempt a wider field of activities than its financial circumstances permit ; there are also signs of extravagant duplication and overlapping between universities, which will result not only in diffusion of effort but also in reduction of efficiency. It is in consequence of this wide diffusion of effort that Indian universities are still subject to the charge of lifeless uniformity, from which in other respects they have largely escaped. If teaching and other resources are too widely diffused, there is less likelihood of universities being in a position to make distinctive contributions in a few departments of study, for which they possess special facilities ; they will tend rather to become lifeless replicas of each other.

A super-university, guiding and controlling the 18 universities that now flourish in India, may not be a desirable or a practical ideal. But conferences like yours can have no more fitting object than to review the existing position and the future development of universities, not so much from the particular needs of each individual university but rather from those of India as a whole.

There is another matter which will engage your earnest attention ; I refer to the ever-increasing unemployment among graduates and matriculates. I have already expressed in a recent speech in Calcutta the grave concern with which I and my Government view this distressing phenomenon. I need no excuse for referring to it again, especially in the presence of those with whom it is a matter of daily anxiety. From the point of view of the students concerned, it is heart-rending that many young men, who have fought their way successfully up the educational ladder and have gained high degrees and

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distinctions, often in spite of many obstacles and handicaps, are yet unable to find means either of maintaining themselves or of serving their fellow men. From the point of view of the country, it is disastrous that the labours and initiative of these young men should be running to waste. Keen and unmerited disappointment, accentuated by irksome inactivity, are apt to lead high-spirited young men into dangerous and unexpected channels. I am well aware that universities cannot by themselves create developments in industry and commerce; in these respects they are enchained by forces over which they have little or no control. But it is undoubtedly within the province of educational authorities so to adjust the general scheme of education that the bent of students and pupils shall be turned towards occupations best suited to their conditions and capacities.

The increase in the number of university students during recent years has been phenomenal. In 1917 the number was 61,000 ; in 1927 it had risen to 93,000 ; in 1932 it approximated 105,000. In the Punjab the increase has been particularly rapid, the number having advanced from 6,500 in 1917 to approximately 17,000 at the present day. It is almost inconceivable that these largely increasing numbers could have been absorbed into suitable occupations, even had the times and conditions been normal. What is the solution of this distressing problem ? From many quarters comes the cry for more technical and vocational education. The subject of technological education is one of the items for discussion, and your advice on this matter will receive careful consideration. On the general question I would suggest that there is danger in excessive specialisation, especially if the main purpose is to relieve unemployment. A student who has benefited by a good general education should be able to adapt himself to many forms of occupation, but a student

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who has specialised in a single aspect of a single industrial subject might fare badly in his quest for employment.

In respect to vocational education, there appear to be two schools of thought. Some favour the inclusion of several forms of vocational training as optional subjects for Matriculation and subsequent university examinations, which would be taken concurrently with ordinary literary subjects; others advocate more drastic treatment and suggest that the whole scheme of secondary education should be recast, as a result of which many students who now throng universities would be diverted at an earlier stage either to occupation or to separate and self-contained vocational institutions. Consideration of the latter policy rightly finds a place in your agenda. I shall not anticipate your discussions, but I venture to suggest that many boys and girls would benefit if the content and method of their school education were not based so rigidly on the assumption that they all desire, and are competent to receive, admission to a university.

These and other important matters will now come under discussion. Your task will be one of great moment to the destinies of India, but you will be guided by an educationist of much distinction and experience. Your Chairman, Mr. Langley, has been for many years Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, in the founding of which the Government of India played some part. I wish you all God-speed in your labours.

BANQUET AT KAPURTHALA.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala gave a 10th March Banquet in honour of Their 'Excellencies' visit to his State. . 1934.
In reply to the toast of his health His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—At the outset I must offer Your Highness our sincere thanks for the very

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cordial welcome you have given us on this our first visit to your State and for the very graceful and charming terms in which you have proposed the toast of our health. Visits to Indian States are welcome not only as pleasant interludes in one's official routine but as affording opportunities of meeting and exchanging ideas with the Indian Princes, and my only regret is that with the increase of work and the very complicated life of a Viceroy today such visits must of necessity—even with the coming of the aeroplane to take the place of the slower-moving train—be fewer and shorter than in the more spacious and leisured days of the past. We have been greatly impressed with the warmth of our welcome, the comfort of this palace so reminiscent of Versailles and the smart appearance of the State troops which were such a picturesque feature of our arrival and on which I must congratulate Your Highness' son, Major Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, I.A., who I understand combines the duties of Household Minister with those of Inspector-General of the State Forces.

I thank Your Highness for the happy and generous tribute which you have paid to what we have been able to do for India where we have spent so many years and which we have learned to look on as our second home. For Her Excellency the interests of India, and especially of its women and children, have always been a devotion and Your Highness has not erred or exaggerated in your appreciation of her boundless energy and manifold and enthusiastic activities for its welfare. Your Highness has referred in complimentary terms to the part which I have been able to play in fashioning the plan of Federation in which I am convinced lie the solution of India's needs, the fulfilment of her aspirations and the link which will bind British India to the Indian States who will remain "daughters in their mother's house, mistress in their own". I welcome Your Highness' assurance of

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your support of a Federal scheme which, while fully safeguarding the rights and privileges of the Indian States, secures their co-operation with British India in matters of common concern. With wisdom, statesmanship and goodwill I am convinced that the Indian Princes—and not least the martial Rulers of the Punjab States—have a notable part to play in the Federation which they sponsored at the First Round Table Conference and to which their experience and tradition will prove a valuable contribution.

I have listened with interest to Your Highness' account of the internal development of your State during your long rule of nearly half a century and I acknowledge gratefully the loyalty and co-operation which Kapurthala has displayed ever since the dark days of the Mutiny. Your martial subjects have ever been foremost in their rally to the Empire in case of need, and I feel sure that should another emergency arise, the glorious traditions of the past will be repeated. I shall look forward to seeing tomorrow something of your State institutions and am glad to know and congratulate you on the fact that in spite of world depression—which I am optimistic enough to hope is on the decline—you have been able at some personal sacrifice to maintain a balanced budget and even to extend your agricultural and industrial development wherein I believe lies the ultimate salvation of India and the cure for the present acute state of unemployment among the educated classes. In political advancement too Your Highness has always taken an active part and I shall follow with interest the progress of the Kapurthala Legislative Assembly, only commending to Your Highness the wisdom of fully and carefully considering the needs of the situation before any action is finally taken. I am sure that the necessity for this care and consideration must be constantly in your mind and in that of your experienced and gifted Chief Minister,

Unveiling Ceremony of Lord Irwin's Statue.

Sir Abdul Hamid. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala can well look back with satisfaction over the long years during which he has held the great responsibility which must always rest on a Ruler of an Indian State, and I am sure we should all wish warmly to congratulate him on his many administrative achievements during those years and on the constant solicitude he has shown in interesting himself in all that is to the advantage of his subjects.

It is therefore with very real pleasure that I ask you to rise with me and drink to the long life and prosperity of our host, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and to express the sincere hope that he may long be spared to continue to exercise a just and beneficent rule over his loyal people.

UNVEILING CEREMONY OF LORD IRWIN'S STATUE.

21st March
1934.

In unveiling the statue of Lord Irwin at New Delhi on the 21st March 1934, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—One of the most pleasant—but at the same time one of the most delicate—duties which a Viceroy can be called upon to perform is that of unveiling the statue of a predecessor in office who has been considered by the Princes and people of India worthy of such signal recognition at their hands. The duty is a pleasant one in that it must admittedly be a matter of gratification to speak of the achievements of an eminent fellow-countryman ; but the delicacy of the situation arises from the fact that neither in my public nor my private life have I been privileged to be closely acquainted with Lord Irwin, as I still prefer to call him this afternoon for it is by this name that he will always be best remembered in this country. Nevertheless the

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delicacy of the situation to which I have referred is largely lessened by the fact that Lord Irwin left India such a comparatively short time ago that his career, his great services, and the example of his fine character must be better known to and felt by many of you present here today than they can be to me, and furthermore they must still be so fresh in the memory of the officers who served under him and of the host of friends that he made, as to stand in no need either of reiteration or elaboration at the hands of his successor.

At the same time so plain was the impress that he made upon the people of India during the five years of his Viceroyalty that it is not a matter of difficulty to pick out some of the chief characteristics by which I think he will always be remembered which tended to make that impression.

First and foremost, I would put his sincerity of purpose. He came to India with one great aim—to promote the interests and welfare of her people, and to prove in action what he himself so firmly believed, that those interests and that welfare were wholly consistent and very closely connected with the welfare and interests of the people of Great Britain with whom Providence had linked the destinies of India. With that purpose ever in his mind, he laboured with unceasing devotion through times of difficulty of doubt and of danger, but never lost his own faith in the ultimate triumph of his ideas.

Secondly, Lord Irwin sought always to reconcile conflicting interests and to remove the occasions for conflict, and I have often heard of the very vivid impression he created amongst the people of this country by one of his earliest public utterances after taking up his duties as Viceroy, at a time that communal hostility was most acute, when he appealed to the two great communities in the

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name of Indian National Life and in the name of religion to create a new atmosphere of trust and co-operation. Whilst, alas ! it cannot be said that that appeal has entirely succeeded in its object, it can, I think, fairly be claimed that it did not fall on deaf ears, and that communal feeling is less acute now than it was at the time when Lord Irwin came first to India.

Thirdly, amongst his public characteristics, I would mention his courage. When he was once persuaded that a course of action was right, he pursued that course, fearing attack neither from one side nor from the other, and he brushed aside as of no account the danger of being misunderstood.

There was, however, a further aspect of Lord Irwin's ~~personality~~ which will, I am sure, appeal to those of you who knew him well, just as much as any record of his official achievements. I refer to that delightful and engaging charm of manner and to that courtesy and friendliness which he displayed to all alike that endeared him to everyone who was privileged to meet him. And in his love of sport and of horses, as in so much else in his character—in his sincerity, his simplicity of life and the liberalism of his ideas—he proved himself to be in every way a very great English gentleman.

Today we are gathered here to pay our tribute to a great public servant who we trust may be spared long years to do further distinguished service for the Empire. But I hope that this statue which I shall shortly unveil will always call to mind the memory of one who during the five years of his Viceroyalty gave of his best to promote trust, confidence and goodwill among all races and communities, and worked unceasingly for the betterment of the people of India.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED
CROSS SOCIETY.

In opening the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the 22nd March 1934, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before making any comments on the very interesting reports which we have just listened to from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Sir David Petrie, I should like to give a very warm welcome to the large number of representatives of the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade and the Provincial Red Cross Society who have shown their active interest in both organisations by coming here today to represent their various branches.

With the shadow of the earthquake still over us, it is very natural that our interest in Ambulance and Red Cross work has been quickened, and I am sure we are all delighted that our Chairman has set aside convention to-day and has given us a glimpse of the help that has been given to the sufferers in Bihar not only by the various branches in India but also from International Relief Unions and Red Cross Societies all over the world. And I am very glad to have this opportunity of endorsing the gratitude which our Chairman has expressed for the generous help sent to us in our hour of need.

Let me now turn for a moment to the reports of the St. John Ambulance Association. One's first impression after hearing them read is that its activities are very widespread indeed and that its work is being carried on in a most satisfactory manner. They suggest though

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that the work of the men is more active than that of the ladies. This is no doubt satisfactory from the men's point of view, but I hope all ladies present will be feeling that such a state of things cannot be allowed to continue. The difficulty is evidently the same that India suffers from in many of her activities, namely, lack of trained leaders, but I would remind all Indian ladies present that the Association offers every facility for training and is only too anxious to secure recruits for its Home Nursing and Mothercraft classes.

I am sure you will have heard with great satisfaction of the admirable work done by the St. John Ambulance Brigade in the earthquake area by establishing a temporary hospital at Monghyr and very particularly by the self-contained unit from Bengal which evidently rendered the most valuable service.

It is satisfactory to learn that there is an increase in the membership of the Ambulance Divisions of about 300 during the past year and that several divisions are in process of formation. The Bombay and Calcutta Ambulances seem to have been exceptionally active during the year, and I am sure that the work of members at the various fairs and sports meetings must have been most valuable. While I was in Bombay last August I had an opportunity of inspecting the new Muslim Ambulance Division with its Motor Ambulance and am very glad to learn that it has already done good work.

The Lahore Nursing Division's good service at the All-India Girl Guide Camp is specially gratifying, for those two great organisations should be able to help each other constantly. I was particularly glad to learn of the progress being made in the matter of the Cadet

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Divisions and am very glad to see them represented here today.

Before I conclude my remarks on this side of our work, I would like to echo every word His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said with regard to the regret we must all feel at the departure from India of the late Governor of the Punjab, Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, and I should like to share in the welcome he has extended to Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bombay, who will, I feel sure, stimulate the activities of the society in the Bombay Presidency.

The Red Cross Society report presented by Sir David Petrie gives a record of some particularly generous gifts given to the Society during the past year to which I must make special reference. I would like specially to thank Rai Bahadur Jiban Ram Goenka of Assam for his gift of Rs. 20,000 to the new Shillong Hospital for Women and Children, Mr. Patel of Baluchistan for his gift of Rs. 10,000 to the Baluchistan Red Cross, and Sahukar Bale Siddalinga Setty of Mysore for his donation of Rs. 13,500 for the foundation of a Women's Hospital at Yedatore.

I should also like in this connection to express my very grateful thanks to the various Red Cross Societies for the very generous way in which they have supported the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund. Donations of money and material have come from all sides, and I wish in particular to mention the donation of Rs. 10,000 made by the Bengal Branch to their Sister Society in Bihar.

The efforts made on behalf of Child Welfare, anti-tuberculosis and the Junior Red Cross activities are all chronicled in the report before you, and so interesting

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are they that I hope you will all take them home and read them at leisure. I warmly welcome the announcement that Rs. 50,000 a year for four years is to be allotted from Canteen Funds for the welfare of Indian Troops' wives and families. It is a very real pleasure to learn that the Junior Red Cross family is growing so quickly—250,000 members should be a useful army of enthusiasts determined to secure better health conditions for their fellow-countrymen. I am sure you would wish me to express our regret at the departure of Lady Sykes from Bombay who always took such an interest in all Red Cross matters ; also at the departure of Mrs. Holliday from Quetta, a lady of whose great work in social service Her Excellency and I first had experience in Bombay during the four years of the Great War and who has achieved so much at Quetta in the matter of Army Child Welfare.

Before I conclude I should like to support as strongly as I possibly can the impressive appeal which Sir David Petrie has made for support for the Red Cross Society. He tells us that the membership which was 16,000 in the year 1931 has now reduced to 12,000 in the year 1933. And this I regret to say is the total support which we get for this great Society in a country whose population is close on 350,000,000 and whose sole purpose, as Sir David Petrie says, is to secure the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of human suffering among our people.

Therefore, while I gratefully acknowledge the splendid work which has been done by these few devoted workers, I wish today to appeal for support to a far wider public.

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I agree with every word that Sir David Petrie has quoted from His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech at a Provincial Branch gathering of the Red Cross Society in the United Provinces, and particularly the remark that he made that we are constantly speaking of India's determination to create its own national life—a purpose I have always encouraged. But it is surely true that you cannot secure a national life without having a healthy nation, for it is health that produces character and self-reliance which is so necessary for the good administration of any country.

In conclusion, let me express my very grateful thanks to all those who have worked so well in the interests of the two Societies during the past year. They can look back with complete satisfaction and pride upon the results of their labours, and I feel confident that when we meet again next year I shall be in the happy position of once again offering my congratulations to those who are conducting the work of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

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